Elizabeth Grace Elmi

Singing Lyric
in the Kingdom of Naples

Written Records of an Oral Practice

SCHOTT

International Musicological Society   STRECKER-STIFTUNG

A mia nonna Isabella Comunale, detta Angelina,
per avermi insegnato il valore del lavoro e della passione

In memoria di mio nonno Pasquale Macchiarulo, detto il Vescovo

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Abstract

In this book, I examine the predominantly oral practice of singing lyric poetry among members of the Neapolitan aristocracy in southern Italy during the late-fifteenth century. The tradition of singing Neapolitan lyric developed and gradually gained ascendancy in the Kingdom of Naples over the nearly sixty years of the Aragonese dynasty (1442–1501)—both in the capital city of Naples and at feudal courts throughout the Kingdom's rural provinces. The surviving song repertory and its preservation in late-fifteenth-century musical and literary sources bear witness not only to these varied performance contexts, but also to the inherently communal aspect of the tradition as a whole.

Combining approaches in musicology, ethnomusicology, and literary theory, I question the fixity and purpose of this written repertory in preserving a fluid and dynamic oral practice that flourished as the artistic expression of a subjugated class—Neapolitan nobles and intellectuals living under Aragonese rule. The manuscript collections, historical descriptions, theoretical and literary works that preserve and transmit the records of this oral practice demonstrate how writing was used to record, recollect, recreate, and ultimately memorialize a communal practice of song-making—lending value and legitimacy to the Kingdom's local aristocracy—during a tumultuous time in the history of southern Italy. Some copies, perhaps preserved on less durable media, have likely been lost while others preserve traces of orality with varying levels of fixity and transformation. How and why these records were created and preserved is the central question that this study seeks to answer.

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List of Abbreviations

Central Sources of Neapolitan Music and Poetry

Abbreviations for manuscripts under close investigation in this book are emphasized in bold typeface.

Berlin K	Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 78.C.28 (*olim* Hamilton 451)
Bologna Q 16	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 16
Cappon. 193	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capponiano 193
Escorial B	Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivio de Musica, Ms. IV.a.24
Foligno fragment	Foligno, Biblioteca Comunale, fragment (fifteenth century, no signature)
Mellon	New Haven, Yale University, Beineke Library for Rare Books and Manuscripts, Ms. 91
Modena α.M.7.32	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. α.M.7.32 (It. 1168)
Montecassino 871	Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Ms. N 871
Naples BNN XVII.1	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Vittorio Emanuele III, Ms. XVII.1
Paris 1035	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1035 (*Cansonero napoletano*)
Paris 4379	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. franç. 4379
Perugia 431	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," Ms. G 20 (*alias* 431)
Riccardiana 2752	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2752
Seville 5-I-43	Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 5-I-43
Seville-Paris	Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 5-I-43 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. franç. 4379

Vaticano latino 10656	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 10656
Vaticano latino 11255	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 11255

Additional Related Sources

Bald228	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Baldovinetti 228 (*olim* Palatino 428)
BU596	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 596 H.H.2
BU2216	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 2216
Can99	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canoniciano It. 99
CantiC	*Canti C numero cento cinquanta* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504)
Cape	Cape Town, The South African Library, Ms. Grey 3.b.12
Cop	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. Thott 291 8°
Cord	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rothschild 2973 (*olim* I.5.13)
Dij	Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 517 (*olim* 295)
F121	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Magl. XIX.121
F176	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Magl. XIX.176
F229	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Banco Rari 229 (*olim* Magl. XIX 59)
Ferrara I.408	Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, Ms. I.408
Fiore	Giustinian, *Comincia el fiore* (13 eds. between ca. 1472 and 1518)
Florence Basevi 2441	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio L. Cherubini, MS 2441 (Basevi)
Florence BR 230	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Banco Rari 230 (*olim* Magl. XIX 141)

Florence BR 337	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Banco Rari 337
FN 701	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Nuovi Acquisti 701
FN 1111	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Nuovi Acquisti 1111
FN II.IX.42	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Magl. II.IX.42
FN II.X.54	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. II.X.54
FN Panciatichi 27	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Panciatichi 27
FR2356	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2356
FR2794	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2794
Frankfurt20	Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. lat. VII 20
Glog	Berlin, former Preußische Staatsbibliothek (currently in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska), Ms. Mus. 40098 (*olim* Z 98/Z 8037)
I-Fn Conv. Sopp. G.8.1545	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Conv. Sopp. G.8.1545
I-Fn Magl. VII.30	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Magl. VII.30
I-Fr 2896	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2896
I-Fr ed. r. 196	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ed. r. 196
I-Mac A.I.4	Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. A.I.4
I-Mac A.III.8	Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. A.III.8
I-Mt 535	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Ms. 535
I-Ra 146	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 146
I-Ra 346	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 346
I-Ra 2274	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 2274
I-Rvat Chigi L.VII.266	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi L.VII.266
I-Rvat Ross. 424	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 424

Lab	Washington DC, Library of Congress, Ms. M2.1 L25 Case
Leipzig1494	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494
Lo35087	London, British Library, Add. Ms. 35087
Madrid 1335	Madrid, Biblioteca Real, Ms. II-1335 (*Cancionero de Palacio*)
Milan 2268	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 2 (*olim* 2268)
Milan Tr55	Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Ms. 55
MN54	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. Va17-7 (*Cancionero de Estuñiga*)
Modena It. 809	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. It. 809
Modena α.F.9.9	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. α.F.9.9
Modena α.M.1.13	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitara, Ms. α.M.1.13
Odh	*Harmonice musices odhecaton A* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1501)
Paris 676	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de Musique (Fonds du Conservatoire), Réserve Vm7 676
Paris 1069	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1069
Paris 1084	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1084
Paris 1597	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 1597
Paris 1719	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 1719
Paris 12744	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 12744
Pavia 362	Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. Aldini 362 (*olim* 131.A.17)
Pesaro 1144	Pesaro, Biblioteca Comunale Oliveriana, Ms. 1144 (*olim* 1193)
PesOliv54	Pesaro, Biblioteca Comunale Oliveriana, Ms. 54
Petrucci Frottole I	*Frottole libro primo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1504)
Pix	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. franç. 15123

Pm201	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms. Parmense 201
Porto714	Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Ms. 714
RC1	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 1098 (*Cancionero de Roma*)
RCas	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2856 (*olim* O.V.208)
RCG	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia XIII.27
Riccardiana 2723	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2723
Riccardiana 2896	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2896
Sched	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Germ. Mon. 810 (*olim* Mus. Ms. 3232 and Cim. 351a)
Segovia	Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. s.s.
SG461	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 461
SG530	Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 530
Spec	Hradec Králové, Krajske Muzeum, Knihovna, Ms. II A 7
Tarragona	Tarragona, Archivo Archidiocesano, Ms. s. s. (4)
Trent88	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo Provinciale d'Arte), Ms. 88 (now 1375)
Trent89	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo Provinciale d'Arte), Ms. 89 (now 1376)
Trent90	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo Provinciale d'Arte), Ms. 90 (now 1377)
Trent91	Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali (*olim* Museo Provinciale d'Arte), Ms. 91 (now 1378)
Trent93	Trento, Museo Diocesano, Ms. "BL"
US-Cn 75.1	Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 75.1
Vaticano latino 5159	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5159

Vaticano latino 5170	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5170
Vaticano latino 13704	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 13704
VatUrbLat1411	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1411
Verona 757	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. DCCLVII
VM1	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. 268 (*Cancionero de la Marciana*)
W243	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Philosophici et philologici graeci 243
Wolf	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Ms. Guelf.287 Extrav.

Related Editions

CattinR	Cattin, "I 'cantasi come' di una stampa."
GallettiL	Galletti, *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari*.
VaraniniM	Varanini, "Il manoscritto Trivulziano 535."

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Note on Editorial Policy

Throughout this book, all translations and transcriptions from original sources are mine unless noted otherwise. Transcriptions of both text and music are semi-diplomatic, striking a balance between representing the original faithfully and making editorial interventions where necessary to the comprehensibility of the text. For text examples, these editorial interventions include the addition of punctuation and diacritic markings as well as the expansion of abbreviations within square brackets. For music examples, these include occasional corrections to instances of scribal error or omission as well as the addition of *musica ficta*, especially at cadences. Instances where musical texts have been corrected on the basis of scribal error or omission are indicated with dark blue, rather than black, notational elements (note heads and rests).

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Introduction

At the wedding celebration of the King of Naples Ferdinando II d'Aragona (1469–1496, r. 1495–96) to his seventeen-year-old half-aunt Giovanna d'Aragona (1478–1518) in 1496, the guests were entertained by, among many other diversions, a performance of the popular song "Io te canto in discanto." The performance prompted an extensive commentary[1] by a woman who claims to have been in attendance on that occasion as a young lady-in-waiting to the Kingdom's new queen, as she recounts: "and I—who, like every other Neapolitan lady, at that time pursued a courtly profession—found myself accompanying the Queen into the *Somma* along with many other ladies of prominence."[2] Although she may appear to be an unusual source for such a commentary,[3] this Neapolitan noblewoman legitimizes her

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1 This commentary is preserved in an untitled manuscript held by the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria. The codex itself is made up of ninety-four paper leaves measuring 15.2 × 10.6 cm with a soft parchment binding. The signature XXVIII D 24 is written in black ink along the bottom portion of the spine. The manuscript's leaves are numbered with a modern foliation system from 1 to 94, and its contents are written in an elegant cursive hand with calligraphic features. The commentary to "Io te canto in discanto" is found on fols. 1 to 81; fol. 82 is blank on both *recto* and *verso* sides; and fols. 83 to 94 preserve a different text describing the history and effects of singing carols during the Christmas season. My description here is drawn from my own study of the manuscript, as well as that published in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 322, n. 2. Naselli's reproduction of excerpts from this commentary is also quoted at length in Addesso, *Teatro e festività*, 14–15. Portions of the commentary are also published in Appendix II of Monti, *Le villanelle alla napoletana*, 336–43 (*L'antico commento alla canzone "Io te canto in discanto"*). Within musicological scholarship, there is a very brief footnote reference to Monti's Appendix II in Cardamone and Benedetto, "Forme musicali e metriche," 48, n. 44. The song "Io te canto in discanto" and a portion of the description reproduced in Monti's Appendix II is also referenced in Cardamone's 1972 dissertation, and Blake Wilson has included a brief quotation and discussion of this source (primarily with relation to Benedetto Gareth) in his 2019 *Singing to the Lyre in Renaissance Italy*. See Cardamone, "The *Canzona villanesca alla Napoletana*," 1:78–79 and Wilson, *Singing to the Lyre*, 315.

2 "et io ch'a quel tempo facea professione di galante, come ogn'altra Dama napolitana con molte altre signore di conto me ritrovai ad accompagnar la Regina in Somma." Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms. XXVIII D 24, fol. 3r; quoted in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 327.

3 It is worth noting that neither Monti nor Naselli seems convinced that the commentary's author is indeed a woman, despite her clear self-identification as a "Dama napolitana." As Monti has dated the commentary to ca. 1553 to 1555, he suggests that a woman present at the wedding in 1496 would have been too old to produce such a detailed and erudite work: "But could a lady who had attended those nuptials—and who therefore had to have been at least twenty years old in 1496—write an erudite commentary in the mid-sixteenth century at around eighty years of age? Better yet, it has to be a fiction, attributed instead to a [male] sixteenth-century writer, who did not witness the festive occasion for which that song was composed" ("Ma poteva una dama che avesse assistito a quelle nozze—e che quindi doveva essere almeno ventenne nel 1496—scrivere un erudito commento alla metà del sec. XVI, circa ad ottanta anni di vita? Ben devesi, quindi, trattare di una finzione e riferire a un cinquecentista, non testimone della festa per cui fu composta quella canzone"). Monti, *Le villanelle alla napoletana*, 339. Naselli's uncertainty—referring ultimately to "this man or woman" ("questo uomo o donna")—lies in the fact that the author refers to herself as "giovanetto" with a masculine ending on fol. 3r of the manuscript. Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 327. Based on the information presented by these scholars, I remain unconvinced. I see no reason why Monti's hypothesis of old age would prevent a learned sixteenth-century woman from writing such a commentary; in fact, the scribal hand in this source is somewhat unsteady and lacking in consistency

authorial voice by clarifying that she learned of the song's true meaning from the humanist poet and urban aristocrat "il Caracciolo" (Giovan Francesco Caracciolo[4]) during a discreet conversation over lunch at her father's home.[5] According to Caracciolo, she explains, the song's shrewd performer had obfuscated its true meaning—"to be understood by the few and wise, much more so than the many and ignorant"—so that he could vent his frustration over the behavior of King Ferdinando II's father and short-lived predecessor Alfonso II (r. 1494–95).[6]

That such a song could be performed subversively at the wedding of the Aragonese king of Naples is a testament to the complex culture of foreign and local political tensions that permeated courtly life in Quattrocento Naples. Certainly the king himself and his new bride would have been considered to be among the "molti, e ignoranti" rather than the "pochi e savii," or the repercussions would have been harsh and swift.[7] The role of music, and more specifically of song, in this context is a complicated one. By providing the proper entertainment for a grand royal-funded occasion, it masks its subtle, politically charged, meaning to a select few *cognoscenti*—members of the Neapolitan intellectual elite and aristocracy whose status and even safety in their Spanish-occupied homeland were in constant flux.

In annotating this rich and poignant lyric text, the commentary's anonymous author addresses a variety of topics, one of which (the definition of the word "discanto") is of particular musicological interest as one of the few near-contemporary descriptions of improvised polyphony:

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in a way that could easily indicate advanced age. Nor do I believe that a single case of a masculine ending (which is likely due to scribal error) should outweigh the commentator's explicit self-identification as a "Dama napolitana" attending to the queen on the day of her wedding.

4   The identity posited by Monti (Monti, *Le villanelle alla napoletana*, 339) is the author of *farse* Pietro Antonio Caracciolo, but Giovanni Parenti argues convincingly against this identification in his article on Pietro Antonio in the *DBI*. As Parenti aptly notes, since this commentary lists "il Caracciolo" alongside Iacopo Sannazaro and Giovanni Pontano, Pietro Antonio's father Giovan Francesco—the Neapolitan proponent of Petrarchan lyric and member of the *Accademia Pontaniana*—is the only logical possibility. See Parenti, "CARACCIOLO." On Sannazaro, Pontano, and the *Accademia Pontaniana*, see part II. See also my discussion of the passage listing Sannazaro, Pontano, and Caracciolo together in the conclusion to this book.

5   "I understood then from 'il Caracciolo,' who—having been at lunch one day, if memory serves, at the table of my lord and father—declared [the meaning of] this song point by point with much secrecy; and, at the time, I carved it into my memory in such a way that it will never leave me so long as I live" ("intesi poi dal Caracciolo, il quale essendo à pranzo una matina con la buona memoria del mio signor padre in tavola con molta secretanza dichiarò questa canzona punto per punto, et io all'hora me la scolpii in tal modo nella memoria, che non mai m'uscirà, finchè io viva"). Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms. XXVIII D 24, fol. 9r–v; quoted in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 327.

6   "d'essere inteso da pochi e savii; assai più che da molti, e ignoranti." Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms. XXVIII D 24, fol. 9r; quoted in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 324.

7   See part II for a discussion of the fine line that Neapolitan aristocrats often walked among their Aragonese rulers and patrons.

> I leave aside, here, a discussion of singing in three-, four-, and five-voice polyphony, as is common among musicians of our time; however, we will say two words on singing in *discanto*, which means to sing *a 2*. But here, be advised my lord, it is required that not every two-voice song can appropriately be called *discanto*, given that the true *discanto* is when two equal voices—whether they be two sopranos or two tenors or two contraltos or two basses—[are] singing together. And starting from a unison, they rise or descend—one on top of the other [l'un sopra l'altro]—either at the third or at the fifth or at most at the octave, stopping there or falling [back] to the aforementioned unison, playing at times with seconds as the voices rise or fall in order to render the sweetness of the cadence.[8]

With a striking level of detail, the song's commentator reveals a deep technical knowledge of musical practice and terminology. Here, we learn that *discanto* refers not just to singing *a 2*, but to a specific style of duet that requires two equal voices to move together—"l'un sopra l'altro"—through a melody starting at the unison and then continuing at the third, at the fifth, or at most at the octave. Leading up to a final unison, the voices may "play . . . with seconds" in order to render the final cadence sweet. From an author well outside the realm of the skilled professional musician, we find an unusually subtle understanding of how two equal voices might sing together in harmony. Moreover, writing retrospectively, she distinguishes between current (for her) sixteenth-century practice of singing in three- to five-voice polyphony and the late-Quattrocento performance practice she witnessed as part of the wedding festivities in 1496. Such a description, anecdotal though it may be, suggests the depth of musical training that was available to the Neapolitan aristocracy (including both men and women), especially at the turn of the century.

As the circumstances surrounding the 1496 performance of "Io te canto in discanto" attest, during the brief reign of the Aragonese kings (1442–1501) Neapolitan lyric song inhabited a complicated space as it traveled among the diverse local and cosmopolitan cultures that came to characterize society in the Kingdom of Naples. Regarding the city of Naples in particular, literary historian Matteo Soranzo has provided a vivid description:

> With its colonies of Florentine bankers, Catalan and Castilian state administrators, Sienese book-binders and illuminators, along with many other groups of itinerant sculptors, painters, jewelers, musicians, and mendicant friars gathering from across

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8 "Lascio di raggionare qui del cantare à tre, et à quattro, et à cinque, come al nostro tempo s'usa da musici, ma diremo due parole del cantar in discanto, che cantar à due significa, ma qui vuò, che siate avertite, signor mio, che non ogni cantar à due si può chiamar propiamente discanto, imperoche il vero discanto è quando due voci eguali, come fusser due soprani, ò due tenori, ò due contralti, ò due bassi cantando insieme col partirsi dall'un[i]suono salendo, o discendendo, ò una terza, ò una quinta l'un sopra l'altro, ò al più una ottava fermandosi in essa, ò cadendo nel d[ett]o unisuono, giocando alle volte con le seconde, mentre salgono, ò scendono le voci per far la dolcezza dell'accadenza." Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms. XXVIII D 24, fols. 13v–14r; quoted in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 330–31.

Europe in the Aragonese capital, Naples is best understood as a "world city," whose centrality resides precisely in its imported cultural landscape.[9]

By comparison, the Kingdom's rural provinces were controlled by local barons, whose political and cultural agendas frequently diverged from those of the worldly and powerful Aragonese. Against the backdrop of traditional hierarchies in southern Italy's rural and urban aristocracies, the strong presence of imported cultures in the capital city of Naples created a unique and increasingly uncertain political climate. The introduction of "Io te canto in discanto" at the Aragonese royal wedding in 1496 points to the ways in which these two conflicting spheres of the Kingdom's culture intersected in the predominantly oral practice and transmission of vernacular song.

Studies of music and poetry in southern Italy during the late fifteenth century, such as those of Allan Atlas and Gianluca D'Agostino, have tended to focus largely on the imported artistic practices of the centralized Aragonese royal court at the Castel Nuovo in Naples, its musical chapel, and the related intellectual institution of the *Accademia Pontaniana*.[10] Yet, the Castel Nuovo was only one of many active court environments in the expansive geo-political region encompassed by the Kingdom of Naples—including the Aragonese ducal court at the Castel Capuano, also in Naples, as well as various smaller courts held by land-owning Neapolitan barons in the Kingdom's provinces. In this book, I investigate the tradition of singing Neapolitan lyric that developed and gradually gained ascendancy (however subversive) over the nearly sixty years of Aragonese rule both in the capital city of Naples and at feudal courts throughout southern Italy. My approach to this topic engages questions of orality and literacy, creative agency, performance practice, and transmission in addition to the many historical and political considerations integral to the period. Understanding southern Italian lyric song as a tradition that was practiced from court to court—varying in function and context—throughout the Kingdom of Naples demonstrates its significance and malleability at numerous levels of cultural and intellectual life.

The surviving Neapolitan song repertory and its preservation in late-Quattrocento musical and literary sources bear witness not only to these varied performance contexts, but also to the inherently communal aspect of the tradition as a whole. Allegorical representations of Neapolitan song in Iacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, for example, emphasize community and communal practice through a pastoral lens, demonstrating the social importance of song-making within a prosimetric literary framework.[11] Moreover, extant copies of Italian-texted song from southern Italy

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9   Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 9. For more on this, see part II.
10 Both scholars' work will be discussed and cited at length in later chapters.
11 For more on this, see the opening sections of part I.

reveal their origin in communal practice through their overwhelming tendency toward anonymity, as well as other codicological and paleographic elements, in musical and literary collections of the period. From these sources, I have identified a repertory of 106 Italian-texted notated song settings preserved in four music manuscripts and their concordances in three literary manuscripts connected to the Kingdom of Naples.[12] In studying these works, I consider both the musical and textual characteristics of each song and the materiality of the manuscripts that preserve them in order to explore the purpose and fixity of this seemingly static written repertory within the context of a more fluid and dynamic oral practice. Drawing together musical, literary, and philological evidence, I contend that the surviving records of Neapolitan lyric song constitute a fixed memorial archive meant to lend value and legitimacy to the cultural practices and production of the Kingdom's local aristocracy.

In developing this idea, this book is organized in five parts. Part I explicates my methodology through an extensive review of secondary literature on orality and literacy, improvisation *versus* composition, and the role of memory in the creative process. I frame this literature review with a theoretical consideration of the aesthetic binary between nature and artifice central to Sannazaro's *Arcadia*—an apt metaphor for the complex intersections of oral and written practice in the production and transmission of Neapolitan lyric. In *Arcadia* and in the surviving evidence of Neapolitan lyric song more generally, the creation and transmission of a written text lends value and prominence to an otherwise ephemeral art form. As written records of a predominantly oral practice, I argue that the notated and non-notated texts of the lyric repertory represent a concerted effort to preserve and commemorate a burgeoning tradition of song-making throughout the Kingdom of Naples.

Part II presents a broad overview of the historical and political context in which Neapolitan song ultimately came to flourish by the end of the fifteenth century. I begin with an investigation of the patronage of the Aragonese royal family, who reigned from the time of Alfonso V d'Aragona's first entrance into the city of Naples in 1442 until Federico I's surrender to French invaders in 1501. Among the various members of the royal family, I foreground the political goals and related patronage practices of three major figures: Alfonso V d'Aragona (the first of Naples), known as *il magnanimo* for his generous support of Latin humanistic writings; Alfonso's son Ferrante I, whose patronage shifted the Kingdom's literary focus from Latin to the vernacular; and Ferrante's daughter-in-law the Duchess of Calabria

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12   For the sake of expediency, I have adopted the term "Italian-texted" in this book to refer to a repertory that, in fact, transmits lyric texts in a mix of "Italic" languages of the day, including both Tuscan and Neapolitan vernaculars mixed with Latinisms and occasional influences from Castilian and French. In reality, the adjective "Italian" was not in use during this period, even though the term "italico" (better translated as "Italic") does appear in some Latin-texted sources.

Ippolita Sforza, a great patron of the local Neapolitan literary and musical arts and a renowned dancer and singer in her own right. Following this more traditional study of royal patrons, I then turn to the politics, patronage, and performance practice of the Kingdom's urban and rural aristocracies. In so doing, I first describe the complex hierarchical structures of the fifteenth-century Neapolitan nobility. Furthermore, I explain how the centralizing efforts of the Aragonese crown acted to destabilize the traditional hierarchy of the Kingdom's noble classes, thus creating a crisis of identity among the aristocracy. Ultimately, I show how that crisis of self-reformed the aristocratic classes into more varied intellectual networks, which sought legitimacy through cultural production and, in particular, writing. Within this new self-defining impulse, lyric song takes a prominent place.

Following the historical narrative of part II, part III conducts a philological investigation of the four extant music manuscripts connected to Naples from the 1480s–90s and the way Italian-texted songs are presented materially within them. These include two anthologies of sacred and secular song (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS N 871; and Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," MS 431) and two French-style *chansonniers* (Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS 5-I-43 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, N.A.F. 4379; and Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 16). In each of these manuscripts, the transmission of Neapolitan song seems to be incidental to the composition of the larger collection, and that repertoire's importance has been consequently underestimated in earlier scholarship. Taken together, however, the four sources preserve a significant body of over a hundred Italian-texted songs whose varying musical, textual, and material qualities show evidence of their connection to oral culture. Such a significant corpus of notated Neapolitan song settings reveals the influence of the lyric poetry tradition in the last decades of the Quattrocento not just among humanists and aristocrats throughout the kingdom, but in a variety of musical circles as well.

Part IV complements part III by similarly addressing the three major literary anthologies of Neapolitan lyric from the late 1460s through the 1490s—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 1035; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 10656; and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2752. Seventeen of the songs with notated musical settings in the four manuscripts discussed in part III are also found with concordant text-only copies in one or more of these collections. In addition to this small group of decidedly musical texts, these three literary anthologies act as testaments to Naples's mixed oral-literate culture by preserving a substantial body of over 750 lyric texts of which many bear traces of oral composition and transmission and would very likely have been sung in performance. In this way, they reveal an expansive image of the poetic parameters of vernacular song that goes well beyond what musical sources transmit. In the central portion of this part, I conduct a detailed case study of one of these literary anthologies—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1035 (also known as the

Cansonero napoletano)—and its relationship to musical manuscripts and practices of the day. I argue that the *Cansonero napoletano* is a carefully constructed songbook with clear connections to the practice of singing lyric poetry within a vibrant community of poets from the Kingdom of Naples. In fact, a deeper analysis of this collection reveals a substantial body of Neapolitan songs that greatly exceeds the number of texts for which musical settings survive.

Finally, part V investigates the complex relationship between oral and written practice in the full repertory of 106 Italian-texted songs preserved in the four Neapolitan music manuscripts addressed in part III. This part is divided into two main chapters. In chapter 1, I present an overview and analysis of the stylistic features of the repertory as a whole and address how those features may reveal traces of oral composition and transmission. These include: lyric considerations, such as aspects of poetic genre, meter, and subject matter; and musical characteristics, such as formulaic melodic construction, limited pitch range, and ornamentation. Chapter 2 centers on two case studies of *strambotti*, which attest to different stages in the transformative process from oral to written practice. The first, "Zappay lo campo" (meaning "I hoed the field"), alludes more closely to the oral tradition in its material and compositional characteristics. The second, "Serà nel core mio doglia e tormento" ("Pain and torment will be in my heart"), exemplifies a song that has moved away from orality and has instead been diffused and concretized in the written tradition. These examples, framed within the larger Neapolitan corpus, reveal the manifold and evolving interactions between written and oral song traditions in the dynamic cultural milieu of Aragonese Naples.

Singing lyric poetry in Aragonese Naples was a practice that spanned multiple levels of aristocratic and court culture. That practice flourished as an expression of local Neapolitan identity in the face of a dominant foreign power. Returning to the example of "Io te canto in discanto," lyric song served as a means of coded but public communication among a varied network of like-minded Neapolitan nobles. Listeners could be divided into groups of *savii* and *ignoranti* based on their access to local insider knowledge, thus undermining the official power structures of the Aragonese royal court. As I demonstrate in this book, the written preservation of lyric song was integral to the development of its cultural capital within the Kingdom of Naples. Our understanding of how local aristocrats developed a sense of cultural legitimacy within a tumultuous and frequently violent political landscape is fundamental to how we understand the production and transmission of Neapolitan lyric song.

Part I

Navigating Orality and Literacy in the Musico-Poetic Culture of Fifteenth-Century Italy

Introduction: Nature and Artifice in Late-Quattrocento Naples

In the prologue of his renowned pastoral romance *Arcadia* written between 1486 and 1504, the aristocratic Neapolitan poet Iacopo Sannazaro presents a telling aesthetic dichotomy between nature and artifice:

> More often than not, it happens that tall and ample trees produced by nature among the treacherous mountains gratify those who look upon them more so than the cultivated plants in ornamented gardens, cut back by learned hands; and the wild birds that sing upon the green branches of solitary forests are much more pleasing to those who listen than are those tamed birds that sing from inside the beautiful and well adorned cages of crowded cities. And so, in my estimation, it is for that reason that bucolic songs etched into the rough bark of the beech tree are no less delightful to those who read them than those cultured verses written into the smoothed pages of gilded books; and the waxed reeds of shepherds may put forth an even more pleasing sound among the flowered valleys than that made by the elegant and precious boxwood of musicians in opulent rooms. And who could doubt that a fountain that springs naturally from glistening stones, surrounded by delicate green grasses would be more pleasing to the human mind than all those others fashioned from the whitest marbles, resplendent with much gold? Certainly, I believe, no one.

> Sogliono il piú de le volte gli alti e spaziosi alberi negli orridi monti da la natura produtti, piú che le coltivate piante da dotte mani expurgate negli adorni giardini, a' riguardanti aggradare; e molto piú per i soli boschi i selvatichi ucelli, sovra i verdi rami cantando a chi gli ascolta piacere, che per le piene cittadi dentro le vezzose e ornate gabbie non piacciono gli ammaestrati. Per la qual cosa ancora (sí come io stimo) addiviene che le silvestre canzoni vergate ne li ruvidi cortecci de' faggi dilettino non meno a chi le legge che li colti versi scritti ne le rase carte degli indorati libri; e le incerate canne de' pastori porgano per le fiorite valli forse piú piacevole suono che li tersi e pregiati bossi de' musici per le pompose camere non fanno. E chi dubita che più non sia a le umane menti aggradevole una fontana che naturalmente esca da le vive pietre, attorniata di verdi erbette, che tutte le altre ad arte fatte di bianchissime marmi risplendenti per molto oro? Certo che io creda niuno.[1]

In these opening lines, the reader encounters several distinct images of nature's beauty, which become less potent when tamed or mirrored by human civilization. The pastoral or natural world is, in Sannazaro's estimation, generally more pleasing than the civilized world that often attempts to capture or imitate it. This idea is first presented in the context of actual natural phenomena: the lush trees that grow upon untamed mountains outshine the carefully pruned greenery of an ornate garden, while the ineffable beauty of wild birdsong surpasses that of a trained

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1   Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 57–58.

bird who lives in a cage. This imagery makes an immediate point: natural beauty exceeds that created through human artifice. The next two examples go on to indicate how humankind may interact with nature in a more direct, and less artful, way by giving preference to the bucolic song etched into the bark of a tree or the pleasing sound of the shepherd's reed flowing through the valley. These two examples of human naturalness immediately call forth instances of spontaneous poetic and musical creativity, which are then juxtaposed with familiar images of high literate Renaissance culture: songs written on the smooth parchment of a gold-adorned manuscript or precious instruments played in opulent music rooms. Such images of cultured artifice are repeatedly portrayed as less pleasing than their natural counterparts, which are not only preferred, but come to function as Sannazaro's ideal aesthetic mode in the *Arcadia* as a whole.

Within the literary and intellectual milieus of fifteenth-century Naples, which Sannazaro inhabited in his daily life, there were, in fact, varying levels of artifice and naturalness. The Aragonese Kingdom of Naples was a major center of humanistic, poetic, and musical creativity, which manifested itself in a variety of ways: from the ostensibly natural spontaneity of improvised poetry and song to the refined cultivation of more complex genres of literature and written polyphony.[2] Within this context, the oral tradition of singing vernacular lyric attained paramount importance in elite circles, from the performances of humanist poet-improvisers, like Benedetto Gareth and Serafino Aquilano, to the lyric creativity of Neapolitan barons and aristocrats, like Francesco Galeota and Iacopo Sannazaro himself. Although such practices were inherently unwritten, their existence within a largely literate culture that included members of both the musical chapel and the intellectual humanist elite inevitably left traces in written sources from the period. Thus, while the materiality of the gilded parchment in Sannazaro's prologue is plainly meant to represent artifice in Neapolitan culture, even the naturalness and seeming ephemerality of the bucolic song cannot escape material fixity, as it is etched into the bark of a tree. Indeed, Sannazaro's imagery at the opening of *Arcadia* reveals a culture in which nature and artifice (to be read, perhaps, as orality and literacy) become intertwined and in which even the improvised songs of "shepherds" (who function as allegorical representations of members of the Neapolitan intellectual elite) can be recorded in writing.[3]

Sannazaro follows these more personal examples of song-making by juxtaposing the benefits of naturally occurring and artificially made fountains, this time in the form of a rhetorical question. Who could deny that nature is more pleasing to the

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2 For more on this, see part II.

3 As will be discussed below, the shepherds in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* are allegorical figures representing prominent members of the *Accademia Pontaniana* in Aragonese Naples. For more on this, see Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Erspamer, 9–10; Vecce, "Viaggio in *Arcadia*," 22–38.

human mind than artifice? Surely, no one—or so Sannazaro claims to believe. In this statement, the author's aesthetic stance—in favor of spontaneity and natural song-making, rather than carefully and richly crafted works of art—is at its most clear. Yet, one cannot deny the level of artfulness necessary for Sannazaro to have reached this aesthetic choice in the first place. In a prologue that was, as Carlo Vecce has stated, almost certainly written after the whole of *Arcadia* was complete[4] (and, thus, in the least "natural" way possible), the author presents an aesthetic binary that privileges spontaneity and naturalness at the same time that it promulgates and exemplifies a high level of sophistication, refinement, and artifice—the very thing that he attempts to criticize. As Vecce explains,

> the completed work [of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*] must appear natural and sponta-
> neous, when it is instead the fruit of a refined, long, complex process of polishing
> and perfecting [*lavoro di cesello*]. . . . And this is the paradoxical message of the pro-
> logue of the *Libro pastorale* (in all likelihood composed at the end): the juxtaposi-
> tion of nature and art, bucolic and learned poetry, humble and high genres.[5]

This cognitive dissonance between the aesthetic privileging of spontaneity and orality and the high level of literacy and cultural refinement is central to Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as a whole.

Indeed, having established that nature is preferable to artifice through this series of contrasting examples, he continues (and concludes) his prologue as follows:

> Thus trusting in that, I can feel free—throughout these deserted lands, among the
> listening trees and those few shepherds who will be there—to tell my unrefined
> eclogues, which have come out of a natural vein [of inspiration], so denuded of or-
> nament uttering them as I heard them sung by the shepherds of Arcadia, under the
> delightful shade [of the trees], [accompanied by] the murmur of gushing springs. [It
> is] to these [eclogues that] the mountain gods, overcome by sweetness, bend atten-
> tive ears and the tender nymphs, forgetting their pursuit of roaming animals, leave
> [their] quivers and bows beneath the tall pines of Mainalo and Lykaion. Wherefore
> I (if it were allowed of me) would consider myself more greatly glorified in placing
> my lips upon Corydon's humble pipe, given to him long ago by Damoetas as a pre-
> cious gift, than upon the sonorous flute of Pallas, with which the wicked, prideful
> satyr provoked Apollo to his own detriment. Since, certainly, it is best to cultivate
> a small piece of land well, than to leave a wide expanse of territory to become refor-
> ested due to poor management.

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4   Vecce, "Viaggio in *Arcadia*," 21.

5   "l'opera conclusa dovrà apparire naturale e spontanea, quando invece è frutto di un raffinato, lun-
    go, complesso lavoro di cesello. . . . Ed è questo il messaggio paradossale del prologo del *Libro pasto-
    rale* (con ogni probabilità composto alla fine): il confronto tra natura e arte, fra poesia bucolica e
    poesia dotta, genere umile e genere alto." Ibid. In fact, as Vecce also points out, it can be no coinci-
    dence that Pontano gives Sannazaro's character Sincero the role of explicating this dual poetics in
    his *Actius* (written ca. 1495–99). On Sannazaro and *Actius*, see Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 79–90.

> Dunque in ciò fidandomi, potrò ben io fra queste deserte piagge, agli ascoltanti al-
> beri et a quei pochi pastori che vi saranno, racontare le rozze ecloghe da naturale
> vena uscite, così di ornamento ignude exprimendole come sotto le dilettevoli om-
> bre, al mormorio de' liquidissimi fonti, da' pastori di Arcadia le udii cantare; a le
> quali non una volta ma mille i montani idii da dolcezza vinti prestarono intente
> orecchie, e le tenere ninfe, dimenticate di perseguire i vaghi animali, lasciarono le
> faretre e gli archi appiè degli alti pini di Menalo e di Liceo. Onde io (se licito mi fus-
> se) più mi terrei a gloria di porre la mia bocca a la umile fistula di Coridone, datagli
> per adietro da Dameta in caro duono, che a la sonora tibia di Pallade, per la quale
> il male insuperbito satiro provocò Apollo a li suoi danni. Che certo egli è miglio-
> re il poco terreno ben coltivare, che 'l molto lasciare per mal governo miseramente
> imboschire.[6]

In concluding his prologue, Sannazaro thus embraces the ephemeral world of shep-
herds' song. He aspires to sing his eclogues as the shepherds of Arcadia would:
with the humble simplicity and sweetness that has the power to charm gods and
nymphs alike. The *naturale vena* (or "natural vein [of inspiration]") from which
these eclogues emerge unadorned, then, appears to characterize Sannazaro's com-
positional aesthetic in *Arcadia*. And yet, the prologue—itself replete with learned
classical references—concludes with a contrasting statement: it is better to have
a modest portion of land and cultivate it well than to govern over a large territory
and leave it to grow wild. While this idea certainly draws upon the humbleness and
modesty of Corydon's pipe, it also privileges the cultivation of land over its natural,
uncontrolled state—a seemingly counter-intuitive statement given the prologue's
generally pro-nature position.

A statement like this can, of course, be read politically. The land-owning barons
of the Kingdom of Naples were increasingly divested of their lands and power
over the course of the Aragonese dynasty (1442–1501), and by the turn of the six-
teenth century Naples was again besieged by foreign powers vying for control
of the kingdom.[7] Surely, Sannazaro had this kind of opportunistic mismanage-
ment of lands and people in mind as he wrote the prologue to a pastoral work
steeped in the culture and politics of his native land. Yet, his sudden turn toward
the *ben coltivato* also has aesthetic implications. By highlighting the tension be-
tween his privileging of nature and his clear engagement of artifice, this state-
ment reflects the conflicting artistic practices that pervaded Naples's oral-literate
culture, and it reveals the true method behind any apparently spontaneous or
improvisational art: careful planning.

The poetry and song traditions of late-Quattrocento Naples betray an analogous
aesthetic binary in their texts and sources. Much like similar traditions through-

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6   Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 58–60.
7   Galasso, *Napoli capitale*, 61–110. See my discussion of this phenomenon (and its effects) in part II.

out Renaissance Italy, the oral practice of sung poetry at Naples had a complex relationship with textually and musically literate cultures and media. The surviving song repertoire is preserved in Neapolitan music manuscripts in a range of styles and layouts, from the more carefully crafted choirbook format to a simple sketch that leaves much to the imagination. In comparison with the widely transmitted and formally composed Franco-Flemish style of polyphony during this period, many of these works may seem at best simple in style and at worst insignificant or even crude. The surviving lyric poetry from Aragonese Naples, preserved without musical notation, conveys a similar mixture of simplicity and sophistication. Some works, like those of Sannazaro, demonstrate a level of cultivated refinement that goes beyond what could be created in a spontaneous performance, while others—typically left anonymous in manuscript sources—are composed of an easily improvised series of formulaic patterns and themes.

Sannazaro's *Arcadia* can then be read as an interpretive key to Naples's sung lyric tradition as a whole, its aesthetic binary between nature and artifice, orality and literacy, a product of a larger culture of musico-poetic performance among the kingdom's intellectual and artistic communities. By representing Neapolitan song practice through pastoral allegory, it provides a road map to understanding the larger tradition beyond the confines of Arcadia. In this way, Sannazaro's work becomes a self-conscious and essentializing study of his own poetic practice and, by extension, of the poetic practice of his fellow poet-singers among the kingdom's aristocracy. By confining the performances of this intellectual community to a utopian world, he narrates and historicizes their communal practice of singing lyric—a predominantly oral practice—as separate, both aesthetically and culturally, from the day-to-day activities of Aragonese Naples. In short, by other-ing his own artistic production within a written and enduring literary work, Sannazaro creates an *ethnography of the self*.[8]

Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as an *Ethnography of the Self*

Reading Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as an ethnography of the self is especially relevant in light of the tension between "the historian's writing and ethnological orality" highlighted in Michel de Certeau's essay on one of the first true ethnographies,

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8   A great deal of scholarship has been written about issues of self-reflexivity, autobiography, and self-representation in ethnographic writing. See, for example, Davies, *Reflexive Ethnography*; Collins and Gallinat, *The Ethnographic Self as Resource*; Reed-Danahay, *Auto/Ethnography*; Pensoneau-Conway, Adams, and Bolen, *Doing Autoethnography*. Indeed, the University of California Press has recently started a new *Journal of Autoethnography* (currently in its fourth year/volume) dedicated to exploring such questions.

Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre due Brasil* (1578).[9] In analyzing Léry's *Histoire*, Certeau emphasizes the effects of narrative writing on the subject of any ethnographic history as "transforming speech into an exotic object."[10] In attempting to reproduce and transmit "words that vanish no sooner than they are uttered, and which are therefore lost forever," Léry's description of the Tupis in Brazil inevitably transforms an active, performing subject into a passive, other-ed object.[11] According to Certeau, writing in this way acts as an archival process, creating historical records of events that would otherwise be lost entirely. Yet, the written record also asserts a transformative power over the oral utterances it preserves in its ability to detach spoken or sung words from, and transmit them beyond, their original context.[12]

Organized in ten *prose* and ten *egloghe*, Sannazaro's pastoral prosimetrum conducts a similar kind of detachment by situating the lyric utterances of his poetic subjects (found in the *egloghe*) within the historicizing framework of prose narratives (found in the *prose*). The work opens in *Prosa I* by immediately situating its readers and characters in an idealized version of "a real geographical space, easily traceable on maps of ancient and modern Greece":[13] "Giace nella sommità di Partenio, non umile monte de la pastorale Arcadia, un dilettevole piano" ("There lies at the summit of Parthenion, a not humble mountain in the pastoral region of Arcadia, a delightful plain").[14] Located in an exotic Mediterranean locale suspended between the familiar landscape of the Italian peninsula and the foreign—and recently conquered—Turkish Orient, this pastoral territory would have been simultaneously well known and inaccessible to members of Naples's oldest aristocratic families, who once possessed lands there during the Angevin dynasty.[15] Within a setting that is exotic and familiar, ideal and real, the shepherds themselves act as allegorical doubles for real-life members of the Neapolitan court and aristocracy. Most Neapolitan poets and humanists within this allegorical construct are represented by individual shepherd-characters: Uranio for Giovanni Pontano, Enareto the magician for Giuniano Maio, Panormita for Antonio Beccadelli, and Summonzio for Summonte. In a few significant cases, however, more than one character can represent a single person. For example, the Catalan-born poet-improviser Benedetto Gareth is represented as either Cariteo (his true Neapolitan nickname) or Barcinio (a pas-

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9   Certeau, "Ethno-Graphy," 209.

10 Ibid., 211.

11 Ibid., 212.

12 Ibid., 216–18.

13 "uno spazio geografico reale, facilmente rintracciabile su una carta della Grecia, antica e moderna." Vecce, "Viaggio in *Arcadia*," 9.

14 Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 61.

15 Vecce, "Viaggio in *Arcadia*," 9; Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, 86. See also Monti, "Ricerche sul dominio Angioino in Grecia."

toral identity based on the name of his birthplace, Barcelona),[16] and the Neapolitan poet-aristocrat Pietro Iacopo de Jennaro is found in the figures of Montano and Opico (who is actually the wise old shepherd Montano in disguise). Moreover, at different points throughout the work, the characters Selvaggio, Ergasto, Carino, and Sincero all act as stand-ins for Sannazaro himself, presenting varying facets of the poet-aristocrat's identity. In this way, Sannazaro the author participates directly in the musico-poetic tradition that he seeks to represent, but under a variety of different performative guises. His identity is closely tied to the pastoral landscape shifting from one shepherd character to another depending on the context of his interactions. In other words, he becomes a part of the story he tells in a very real way—perhaps in the same way that an ethnographer or ethnomusicologist might become actively intertwined within his or her own subject of study.[17]

Within the pages of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, then, we are transported not only into a utopian pastoral world of the kind found in classical works like Virgil's *Bucolics*, but into an allegorized and objectified representation of Naples's humanist and aristocratic circles, which truly were inhabited by a community of poet-improvisers and singers that included Sannazaro himself. It is this community and its musico-poetic practice, not the specific individuals identified within it, that *Arcadia* represents in both its verse eclogues (akin to transcriptions of individual performances) and prose narratives (ethnographic-style descriptions narrating the shepherds' performance practice as a whole). As Francesca Bortoletti has recently argued, the shepherd-poets who populate this literary space participate in an oral practice of singing lyric poetry that can be directly identified with the Neapolitan song tradition.[18] Within Sannazaro's paradoxical natural-cultivated bucolic world, the spontaneity of this song is both tempered and elevated by a web of carefully crafted linguistic and poetic elements, including a variety of genres and meters, as well as a wealth of literary references and allusion.[19] The shepherd's song—fleeting and

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16 For a discussion of Cariteo's role in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, see Amidei, *Alla Luna*, 15–18.

17 On the role the ethnographer plays in the practice and transmission of the music he or she studies, see Shelemay, "Ethnomusicologist."

18 Bortoletti connects this song tradition to a wider context of festivity and theater at the Aragonese court. Bortoletti, "*Arcadia*, festa e *performance*."

19 There is no shortage of scholarship on the various models and sources for Sannazaro's references and allusion throughout *Arcadia*. See, for example, Villani, *Per l'edizione dell'"Arcadia"*; Gajetti, *Edipo in Arcadia*; Kidwell, *Sannazaro and "Arcadia"*; Marino, "Itinéraires de Sannazaro." On the context and audiences for the composition, revision, and eventual publication of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* more generally, see Soranzo, "Audience and Quattrocento Pastoral." It's also worth pointing out that this juxtaposition of simplicity and complexity is typical of works written in the "pastoral mode" as Lisa Sampson has argued: "Most commonly, the pastoral mode at this time implies an idealizing and sometimes elegiac perspective, heightened by mythological overtones. It evokes a simple and innocent existence, sometimes equated with a now lost Golden Age, in which shepherds and nymphs can freely discuss and engage in love affairs, hunting and poetic activities, removed from everyday preoccupations. This has frequently resulted in the reductive criticism of pastoral as es-

ephemeral in its inherently oral nature—is thus contextualized, refined, and empowered. As Bortoletti writes, "the pastoral genre [in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*] thus becomes an instrument of poetic and political communication for the new humanist poet, which, through the eclogue and the conventions of oral poetry (implicitly activated within the eclogue), conferred a civilizing and moral function to the modern poet."[20] Perhaps this is part of what Sannazaro intended in the concluding sentence of his prologue: by cultivating the humble practice of oral poetry within a modest, yet nuanced bucolic world, he sought to elevate both. In this way, nature and artifice become complementary aspects of a singularly Neapolitan poetics, rather than diametrically opposed aesthetic possibilities.

Indeed, these natural and refined modes of expression may be seen as two sides of a single multifaceted culture of poetry and song in Aragonese Naples. Natural and curated, poetry and prose, utopia and allegorized reality, *Arcadia* thus functions as a self-contained narrative of Sannazaro's own poetics within the larger musico-poetic practice of late-Quattrocento Neapolitan song. As Giuseppe Gerbino has emphasized, Sannazaro's *prosimetrum* frames its allegorical performances within narrative prose description and, thus, "essentialize[s] poetry" or the pastoral self:

> By reassigning the plot of each episode to the expansive rhythm of prose, Sannazaro essentialized poetry, channeling the narrative energy of the text into the simulation of musical and poetic performances removed from the utilitarian structures of ordinary language. This also allowed him to recreate life in Arcadia with an unprecedented depth and psychological realism. And much of this realism went into the affective and cognitive processes that in this pastoral society led to the sharing of song.[21]

The shepherd-poets of *Arcadia* thus find themselves essentialized (or other-ed) in verse at the same time that their performances are directed and described in prose by one of their own—the highly literate humanist poet Iacopo Sannazaro. In this

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capist, since it privileges the aesthetic and sublimates real social and political tensions to portray an ordered harmony, often colluding with the desired image of ruling powers. In more positive terms, though, the less 'realistic' setting of pastoral drama in a secluded green world, less constrained by strict behavioural codes than the civilized cities and courts meant that it could more plausibly represent certain areas of emotional and psychological experience than comedy and tragedy—including states of love, madness, and mourning. Furthermore, the pastoral could be used elegantly, and self-consciously to explore literary issues, a feature of the mode since its inception with Theocritus' *Idylls*. It thereby embodies the paradox of being theoretically simple, yet highly sophisticated and allusive—less about nature than about art, and related ideas of artifice, civilization, and human behaviour." Sampson, *Pastoral Drama*, 4.

20   "Il genere pastorale diviene dunque strumento di comunicazione poetica e politica del nuovo poeta umanista che, attraverso l'egloga e le convenzioni della poesia orale (implicitamente attivate entro l'egloga), conferiva una funzione civilizzatrice e morale al poeta moderno." Bortoletti, "*Arcadia*, festa e *performance*," 6.

21   Gerbino, *Music and the Myth*, 50.

way, their voices take on a more powerful aesthetic effect. They are natural, spontaneous, and seemingly ephemeral in their transcribed expression at the same time that they are refined, cultivated, and ultimately fixed within the written narrative of Sannazaro's work.

This binary aesthetic is at the core of the Neapolitan song tradition—one that was oral in practice, yet ultimately recorded in writing with varying levels of care and artfulness. Indeed, the oral tradition of Neapolitan sung lyric was both ephemeral and fixed, natural and cultivated. The written records of this practice, found in four musical and three literary manuscript sources preserving Neapolitan lyric song, can never exactly reproduce the sounding experience of oral composition and performance at Naples. Rather, as Certeau might say, "writing" in this case "is an archive,"[22] which preserves and transfers an incomplete imprint of that tradition beyond its immediate performance context. In understanding the relationship between the ephemeral oral utterance of lyric song and the written record that preserves it, then, we must consider what the various types of writing that preserve, narrate, describe, and otherwise record this tradition are really doing. In other words, within the complex oral-literate soundscape of late-fifteenth-century Naples, what can these written records truly tell us about a tradition that was predominantly oral?

Orality and Literacy, Orality in Literacy, Literacy in Orality

Orality was a fundamental aspect of creative life in Quattrocento Italy.[23] During this time, courts and intellectual circles across the Italian peninsula cultivated the practice of extempore sung poetry as a central mode of creative expression and experience. Scholarship on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy touches upon issues of orality and literacy in a number of ways. Throughout the period, varying levels and conditions of oral culture either developed into a more fixed written practice or remained constant within an orally based performance tradition.[24] Within this culture, accompanied monophonic song was by far the most idealized form of oral musical expression. Important humanists of the day, such as Marsilio Ficino

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22 Certeau, "Ethno-Graphy," 215.

23 This characteristic was, of course, in no way limited to the fifteenth century. Rather, as I will discuss later in this chapter, it was an element of creative life that extended far back through the Middle Ages and antiquity. See, for example, Lord, *The Singer of Tales*; Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*; O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion*.

24 As Brian Richardson has asserted, in early modern Italy "spoken and sung word had uniquely important roles to play alongside the written word in transmitting information, opinions, and texts throughout society." Richardson, "Oral Culture in Early Modern Italy," 313.

and Angelo Poliziano, considered the joining of music and poetry to be the ideal aesthetic experience and were known to engage in their own performances *ex improviso*.[25] The predilection for sung poetry also extended to major political figures like Lorenzo de' Medici and Leonello d'Este.[26] In this context, certain tunes became popular in their own right, traveling freely between oral and written musical traditions. The poetry and performance style of Venetian statesman Leonardo Giustinian, in particular, became widespread in several Quattrocento musical traditions.[27] The *lauda* tradition, for example, often drew upon *giustiniane* in *cantasi come* indications, thus evoking oral memory within written instruction.[28] Other song types, from French chansons to Italian *strambotti* and *barzellette*, also entered the oral cultural consciousness of Renaissance Italian society as their popular melodies were reused and recycled in various musical settings.[29] Moreover, improvisatory practice was perhaps of equal importance in the musical chapel, wherein, as Philippe Canguilhem and Peter Schubert have maintained, the ability to perform improvised counterpoint was a fundamental skill for trained singers.[30]

The cumulative effect of these examples, among many others, has unlocked a wealth of scholarly possibilities within the previously obscured state of Quattrocento Italy's "unwritten tradition"[31] or, as Fausto Torrefranca infamously referred to it in 1939, "the desert of the musical Quattrocento."[32] Indeed, in stark contrast to such negative imagery, there is much we now know and may continue to learn

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25 For more on Ficino and Poliziano, see Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*; Tarugi, *Poliziano nel suo tempo*.

26 The tradition of improvised poetry, in both Italian and Latin, to the accompaniment of the lute is also discussed in Gallo, *Musica nel castello*; Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare*.

27 Scholarship on Giustinian includes Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian"; Wilson, "'Transferring Tunes and Adjusting Lines.'"

28 Wilson, *Music and Merchants*; Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*.

29 Some tunes, like *O rosa bella* and *Scaramella*, were utilized by various musical figures from improvisers like Pietrobono to trained composers like Josquin. See the discussion of Pietrobono in Lockwood, "Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition"; Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 103–18; and, more recently, MacCarthy, "What's in a Name?"; MacCarthy, "The English Voyage."

30 See Canguilhem, "*Ad imitationem sortisationis*"; Canguilhem, "Monodia e contrappunto"; Canguilhem, "Singing Upon the Book"; Schubert, "From Voice to Keyboard."

31 In discussing the oral and written traditions of music throughout history, Pirrotta has characterized the music of the unwritten tradition as follows: "The music from which we make history, the written tradition of music, may be likened to the visible tip of an iceberg, most of which is submerged and invisible. The visible tip certainly merits our attention, because it is all that remains of the past and because it represents the most consciously elaborated portion, but in our assessments we should always keep in mind the seven-eighths of the iceberg that remain submerged: the music of the unwritten tradition." Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy*, 72.

32 Torrefranca, *Il segreto del Quattrocento*, ix. In his opening discussion of music in Quattrocento Italy, Torrefranca dramatically explains: "Italian music history [in the Quattrocento] was considered to be, until today, at level zero: sea level without the sea. Desert" ("la storia musicale italiana [del Quattrocento] è stata considerata, sino ad oggi, a quota zero: livello del mare senza mare. Deserto"). Ibid., 15.

about the performance and transmission of oral heritage within Quattrocento Italy's literate cultures in large part through its connection with musical memory and experience.[33] As I will demonstrate, circumstances in fifteenth-century Naples certainly allowed for this confluence of oral and written practice. The ephemeral nature of Neapolitan lyric song was indispensable to its aesthetic identity, as Sannazaro's *Arcadia* attests. Yet, in late-fifteenth-century Naples, the interactions of highly literate humanist scholars, poets, and musicians connected to the Aragonese courts of Castelnovo and Castel Capuano ultimately caused the oral production and sung performance of Italian lyric poetry to become intertwined with the written transmission of both literature and secular polyphonic song. Within this context, Neapolitan lyric flourished alongside, and often as a complement to, unambiguously literate models and practices. In short, it was, in its creation and preservation, the product of both orality *and* literacy. In order to understand how different aspects of orality and literacy exerted their influence on this tradition, I will delve into the issues, problems, and theories of orality and literacy in music and literature more broadly.

Any study of orality, or of an oral cultural practice like that of lyric song in late-Quattrocento Naples, elicits a number of fundamental questions. First, what is orality, and what does it mean to designate a cultural practice as oral within a predominantly literate society? Scholars of orality, such as Walter Ong and Ruth Finnegan, emphasize the inherently fluid and ephemeral nature of oral practice, which changes depending on a variety of internal and external factors.[34] According to Ong, "sound exists only when it is going out of existence. It is not simply perishable but essentially evanescent, and it is sensed as evanescent." This "evanescent" sound cannot be produced "without the use of power." Tied in its very existence to the movements, utterances, and dynamism of living beings, it cannot exist in its true form once it has been fixed or, as with fifteenth-century music and poetry, written down. It thus has "magical potency" in its "dynamic" resistance to stabilization.[35]

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33 Memory is a fundamental issue to both improvised composition in performance and the written written reconstruction and transmission of that composition. Scholarship on memory and its connection to literary and musical production includes, among many others, Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 2nd ed.; Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*; Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*; Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*.

34 Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 32; Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, 28–29.

35 By "magical potency," what Ong means to say is that sound has an invisible power that cannot be easily pinned down or controlled by outward mechanisms. He explains further: "There is no way to stop sound and have sound. I can stop a moving picture camera and hold one frame fixed on the screen. If I stop the movement of sound, I have nothing—only silence, no sound at all. All sensation takes place in time, but no other sensory field totally resists a holding action, stabilization, in quite this way. Vision can register motion, but it can also register immobility. Indeed, it favors immobility, for to examine something closely by vision, we prefer to have it quiet. We often reduce motion to a series of still shots the better to see what motion is. *There is no equivalent of a still shot*

Orality can be characterized, then, by a number of key adjectives; it is sounding and evanescent, fluid and ephemeral, changeable and multifarious, and, most importantly, it is magical. It is all of these things, even (or especially) in its connection to and interaction with literate cultures. Indeed, the fixed identity of written cultural objects makes the ephemerality and changeability of oral practice that much more powerful in its freedom to react and adapt to its surrounding conditions. In addressing this ephemerality of sound, Finnegan embraces the sometimes-problematic relationship between oral and written cultural practices and warns against an overly restrictive understanding of oral poetry, which "can take many different forms, and occurs in many cultural situations."[36] The anthropologist Jack Goody expresses a similar point in his study of orality and literacy in myth and ritual: by analyzing folktales, epic, and various other forms of story-telling, he emphasizes the variability and creative flexibility of oral "literature,"[37] which is, like its written counterpart, dependent upon issues of audience, function, and context.[38]

The question of how and to what effect various types of oral poetry and song came to be written down is one that has occupied scholars from a broad range of fields for some time. Following Ong's 1982 publication of *Orality and Literacy*, for example, Eric Havelock published a study on the tensions surrounding Ancient Greek society's transition (and transformation) from a predominantly oral culture to one that was increasingly more literate.[39] In particular, he emphasizes that the development of literacy in no way precluded orality: "The Muse never became the discarded mistress of Greece. She learned to write and read while still continuing to sing."[40] Similarly, Jack Goody addressed "the interface between the oral and the written" in the transmission of what he calls "standardized oral forms" in both ancient and modern cultures.[41] As Goody explains,

> writing down, whether by dictation, or even from one's own memory in the case of long standardized oral forms, entails a "constructed" performance, since the very deliberate process of spelling out (dictation) and writing down (transcription) often produces significant differences.[42]

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for sound. An oscillogram is silent. It lies outside the sound world." Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 32; emphasis in the original.

36 Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, 9.

37 This term has been recognized and problematized as an oxymoron in a wide range of scholarship, including Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 10–15; Goody, *Myth, Ritual, and the Oral*, chap. 2; Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, chap. 8; Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition*; and the essays of the edited collection Reichl, *Medieval Oral Literature*.

38 See Goody, *Myth, Ritual, and the Oral*, chap. 2.

39 Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write*. In many ways, this was a summation/continuation of work he had done earlier in his career on oral public memory versus writing and literacy in Havelock, *Preface to Plato*.

40 Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write*, 23.

41 Goody, *The Interface*, xi.

42 Ibid., xi–xii.

In other words, depending on the context and process in which a written recording is produced, the result—fixed in the visual field—can be considerably different.

Finnegan and, more recently, Matei Calinescu have complicated such distinctions even further, though, by taking issue with the binary conception of orality and literacy promulgated by scholars like Ong, Havelock, and Goody. In her *Literacy and Orality*, for example, Finnegan problematizes the conception that human civilization has followed a simple linear progression (or evolution) from oral to written modes by pointing out the complex ways in which those modes typically interact:

> Binary typologies may be handy as a starting-off point for theorizing . . . but the accumulating empirical evidence . . . demonstrates that the postulated characteristics of each type simply do not always predictably follow. . . . Once the assumption of some basic twofold division in human society is challenged it is no surprise to see the co-existence of oral and written modes not as something strange—representing, as it were, two radically different "evolutionary stages" of human development—but as a normal and frequently occurring aspect of human cultures.[43]

This "co-existence of oral and written modes" is central to the musico-poetic practices of Renaissance Italian societies like Quattrocento Naples in which oral communication, reading, and writing were all part of one multifaceted creative context. As Matei Calinescu has emphasized, it is not valid to consider only orality *or* literacy in such a context; rather, one could more accurately speak of "orality *in* literacy" (as in the oral culture portrayed in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*) and "literacy *in* orality" (as in the literate and literary influences that pervade Neapolitan lyric song).[44]

Indeed, the basic sounding condition of oral poetry or song may manifest itself in a variety of contexts with differing levels of literacy and performativity. While the purest and most direct form of oral utterance originates in a non-literate, fully oral culture, the question becomes increasingly complicated as one considers oral expressions in partially or fully literate societies like Renaissance Naples. Walter Ong deals with this issue by characterizing sound in relation to the various technologies that have striven to record it throughout history. He creates a distinction between primary orality, which is unaffected by writing technologies, and secondary orality, which is reliant on writing and ultimately electronic media.[45] Addressing orality and vocality in French medieval literature, Paul Zumthor adds another layer of complication to Ong's stance. While he maintains Ong's definition of "primary orality" as a state entirely without writing, he nonetheless claims that all medieval poetry coexisted with writing to some degree—either in a state

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43 Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality*, 142.
44 Calinescu, "Orality in Literacy," 56.
45 Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 10–11.

of "*mixed* orality when the influence of writing on it remains external, partial, and delayed" or "*secondary* orality when it is recomposed from writing within a context in which writing tends to exhaust the values of the voice in use and in the imaginary."[46] Finnegan, again, prefers a still more complicated perspective of orality (as seen through the lens of oral poetry), which "is not a single and simple thing," but rather "can occur in a society with partial literacy or even mass literacy, as well as in supposed 'primitive' [i.e., non-literate] cultures."[47]

Furthermore, in studying the performance and transmission of medieval chant, Leo Treitler considers varying stages and states of orality in connection to literacy as well, identifying three main stages of composition and transmission—oral, written, and literate.[48] In Treitler's estimation, the oral tradition is sustained by memory and improvised performance, while the written tradition involves the existence of writing without a necessary reliance upon it, and the literate tradition fully depends on reading and writing for successful performance. This threefold distinction is fundamental to the understanding of a repertory, like chant, that was transferred, and consequently transformed, from oral practice to written medium. In particular, the written stage, which appears to be most similar to Zumthor's "oralité *mixte*," allows for aspects of orality to intercede in the process of written transmission in which the copyist could be "copying and remembering and composing, all at once."[49] As this book will demonstrate, the late fifteenth-century secular song repertory in Neapolitan musical-poetic life—created and performed orally in a highly literate context and preserved in writing within the span of half a century—links oral and written practices in a similar (though not identical) way by allowing aspects of oral practice to coexist with and influence the production of written records, and vice versa.

Understanding the Creative Process: Improvisation and Composition

Within the study of any creative oral tradition, the practice of improvisation and its relationship to composition is another fundamental issue to be defined and understood. Indeed, is it not a type of improvisation for which Sannazaro advocates

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46 "Oralité mixte quand l'influence de l'écrit y demeure externe, partielle et retardée; oralité seconde quand elle se recompose à partir de l'écriture au sein d'un milieu où celle-ci tend à exténuer les valeurs de la voix dans l'usage et dans l'imaginaire." Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix*, 8. Translation adapted from Degl'Innocenti, Richardson, and Sbordoni, *Interactions between Orality and Writing*, 5.

47 Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, 24.

48 Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 230–49.

49 Ibid., 242.

in his privileging of the *naturale vena* in the prologue to *Arcadia*? Improvisation studies span a wide range of disciplines and subjects, from singing epic and oral lyric poetry in non-literate cultures to medieval chant, Renaissance counterpoint, and jazz studies in partially or fully literate ones. Of these, Bruno Nettl's work on improvisation as "the creation of music in the course of performance" has formed an important theoretical foundation for subsequent scholarship.[50] For Nettl, the study of improvisation is indispensable to the study of music in performance and, as such, constitutes a wide range of performative-compositional acts that vary in their levels of fluidity As many other scholars have noted as well, improvisation can be understood as a type of oral composition, which ranges in character from more fluid and spontaneous to increasingly stable and formal compositional processes.[51] Within this improvisation-composition continuum, the improviser fulfills a number of creative functions ranging from that of performer to composer or editor, and sometimes all three at once.[52] Defined in this way, improvisation is not an unstable or volatile mode of musical expression, but rather a structured process of oral composition through performance. To echo Thomas Christensen's words, improvisation, then, is "neither capricious nor divinely inspired. There is a logic and method behind this magic."[53]

Following in Nettl's footsteps, Treitler also combats the often-negative connotations of the concept of improvisation as chaotic or unplanned, which he asserts come from cultural bias and not from actual practice. In discussing the typical improvisation-versus-composition binary created in Western art music, he explains that "the very concept of 'improvisation' as we have seen it anchored in language is a product of cultures that have valorized its opposite—composition—as a norm, whether or not as a higher form; but . . . no culture is likely to thrive alone on caprice in the making of music."[54] As Treitler makes clear, in medieval improvisation, composition and performance were, in reality, a single act that was far from lacking a plan. Rather, it drew upon a high level of organization dictated by a series of strict rules and constraints, which provided a fundamental structure to the types of musical choices the singer might make in the course of performance. Thus, even if different versions of the same chant vary widely in their surface-level pitch content, an analysis of melodic gesture and large-scale structure in connection with

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50   Nettl, "Introduction," 1.

51   See, for example, Nettl, "On the Concept of Improvisation"; Nettl and Russell, *In the Course of Performance*; Solis and Nettl, *Musical Improvisation*; Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*; Larson, "Composition versus Improvisation?"; Sarath, *Improvisation, Creativity, and Consciousness*; Mariani, *Improvisation and* Inventio. As will be discussed further below Angela Mariani coins the term "fluid composition" as a way of superseding the traditional terminological boundaries so often cast between the processes of "improvisation" and "composition." See ibid., 7.

52   Nettl, "On the Concept of Improvisation," 2.

53   Christensen, "The Improvisatory Moment," 11.

54   Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 10.

syntax and textual meaning may demonstrate a closer relationship among variants than initially meets the eye.[55] This type of structural and pattern-based melodic analysis follows the example of Albert Lord's foundational work on oral epic song, *Singer of Tales*, which has been profoundly influential in the disciplines of anthropology, ethnomusicology, and comparative literature, among others, since its initial publication in 1960.[56]

Based on the unpublished fieldwork of his mentor Milman Parry, Lord's study develops a theoretical paradigm for evaluating the oral composition of epic poetry in which the performer weaves together a number of interconnected formulas and themes in the rapid, extempore creation of song. While this type of oral composition often exudes a sense of spontaneous virtuosity, its true nature is that of a highly structured performative act, deeply rooted in a long cultural heritage and memorial archive of model-based creativity. One fundamental point that both Lord and Treitler emphasize is that each performance is actually a new oral composition, and thus a separate song. The formula is the fundamental building block of the singer's vocabulary, but the specific words and phrases used to compose each formula or theme are variable. What is not variable is the interlocking web of themes, and formulas within themes, that make up each song. Thus, a song's formulaic and thematic material, while based on pre-existent models, is reconstructed, adjusted, and recomposed depending on the context and content of its performance, so that each iteration is a compositional act in real time.

The completed musical product following each act of oral composition is not what matters here because, as an ephemeral sounding entity, it will be gone almost as soon as it has been created. As a result, multiple performances (or creative processes) of what a modern, classically trained musician would consider one song might sound vastly different from one another. The relationship among those varied utterances has been described by Lydia Goehr as "allographic."[57] That is, each performance of the song (the basic model and related themes, formulas, and phrases associated with that model) is made up of the same tissue, is genetically similar even if in its real-life expression it seems quite different.[58] Much like the song practices described in Lord's *Singer of Tales*, each performance (or product) may be valued as a unique utterance or expression of a singular creative impulse, while all

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55 See examples in Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 13–32 and 461–81.

56 Lord, *The Singer of Tales*.

57 Goehr draws on the views of Nelson Goodman, Marshall McLuhan, and Theodor W. Adorno in her exploration of this concept. Goehr, "Three Blind Mice."

58 In its primary definition, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines an "allograph" as involving "each of two or more alternative forms of a grapheme, esp. of a letter of an alphabet." Linguistically, this would indicate a sameness of individual graphemes despite differences in physical appearance or graphic orientation—such as the letter "F" versus the letter "f" or "ph," which all result in the same phonetic sound.

of those individual expressions are related as part of a larger allographic web of aesthetic identity. Thus, in an oral tradition, several performances of a given tune are known to be separate creative or compositional acts, but each of those utterances may still be understood as related under the umbrella of a singular musical entity.

No song is sung the same way twice, and the performer is judged based on their ability to reuse and recast the same basic material in new and varied ways. But what are the skills that a performer needs to improvise (or compose) successfully in performance? As we can see from the examples of chant and epic poetry, as well as more modern traditions like jazz, the first and most important element is the foundational knowledge of basic musical, structural, and thematic building blocks. In fact, in his study of jazz improvisation, Paul Berliner has emphasized that what appears to be a mystical process of spontaneous composition in performance ("improvisation") is actually the result of "a lifetime of preparation and knowledge."[59] Jazz improvisation, like other improvised musical forms, can be based on a variety of models of themes, from a popular tune (including melody and chord changes) to a specific scale, rhythmic unit, or even an individual chord.[60] As Berliner argues, this pre-existing material is only a starting point for a more complex creative process: "In creating solo after solo, jazz improvisers continually explore the relationships of musical ideas, negotiating among a mixture of fixed elements, which derive from their storehouses, and fresh, variable elements, which present unique challenges and surprises."[61] In other words, the improvised or extempore performance requires a combination of what Gilbert Ryle has called "know-how" and "ad-hockery" (or, more simply, memorized knowledge and creative recall).[62] There is a foundational basis of knowledge that is indispensable to a given improvisatory act, but that must be coupled with the ability to recollect and manipulate that knowledge in the moment of performance.

Improvisation can thus be understood, in the words of Gabriel Solis, as "the practice of making compositional decisions in the moment of performance."[63] Yet, some scholars prefer to see a clearly defined difference between improvisation and composition that goes beyond issues of spontaneity and fixity. Namely, they maintain that, even in the most sophisticated cases, improvisation and composition are distinguished by the degree of planning involved as well as the potential for revision. In his study of "improvisation versus composition" in Bill Evans's *Conversations with Myself*, for example, Steve Larson explicates the distinction as follows:

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59 Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz*, 17.
60 Berliner fleshes out these various modes of improvisation in jazz in ibid., chaps. 3 and 4.
61 Ibid., 221.
62 Ryle, "Improvisation," 77. This idea of memory being utilized in the act of creative recollection is at the heart of oral traditions of improvisation and composition. For more on this see below.
63 Solis, "Introduction," 1.

> I now understand improvisation as the real-time yet preheard—and even prac-
> ticed—choice among possible paths that elaborate a preexisting structure, us-
> ing familiar patterns and their familiar combinations and embellishments. And I
> now understand composition as putting together musical elements and storing
> them—whether in memory, notation, or sound-recording media—in a way that
> allows, but does not require, revision.[64]

Larson goes on to clarify, though, that "these definitions are not mutually exclu-
sive. Music can be either, neither, or both of these things."[65] Expanding upon the
ambiguities inherent in Larson's dichotomy in her study of medieval improvisa-
tion, Angela Mariani coined the term "fluid composition," which is defined as a
process of music-making that draws upon elements of both improvisation and
composition.[66] As Mariani explains, this "occurs when a basic structure or mu-
sical framework of a piece or an accompaniment to a melody is sketched out in ad-
vance of performance but then routinely altered or varied during the course of per-
formance according to the expressive desire or inspiration of the performer in the
moment."[67] In such a process, the preexisting structure is foundational to any sub-
sequent performance, which may be composed of a combination of planned and
unplanned musical elements. Addressing a level of artistic complexity that prob-
lematizes the more linear improvisation-composition continuum of Nettl and So-
lis, this kind of fluidity reflects the possibilities inherent to societies of "mixed oral-
ity" (like medieval and Renaissance Italy) in which oral traditions, rooted in impro-
visatory practice, are performed and developed within partially or fully literate en-
vironments. The fixed records of such oral-literate practices—such as, I would ar-
gue, those found in Neapolitan musical and literary manuscript collections—allow
for a more reflective, and even revisionary, approach to creative work.

Whether a scholar is more inclined to interpret improvisation and composition
as a singular entity on a flexible continuum (as Nettl and Solis do) or as separate
and distinct practices that nonetheless influence each other (as with Larson and
Mariani), all of these theories ultimately rely on an understanding of what happens
when memorized knowledge is recalled and repurposed in the act of performance,
composition, or both. In medieval practice, this process was known as *inventio*.
The term *inventio* in medieval thought was inextricably linked to *memoria*, and its
twofold meaning has been decoded by Mary Carruthers in her *Craft of Thought*
as follows:

> The Latin word *inventio* gave rise to two separate words in modern English. One
> is our word "invention," meaning the creation of something new (or at least

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64 Larson, "Composition versus Improvisation?," 272.
65 Ibid.
66 Mariani, *Improvisation and* Inventio, 7.
67 Ibid.

different). These creations can be either ideas or materials objects, including of course works of art, music, and literature. We also speak of people having "inventive minds," by which we mean that they have many "creative" ideas, and they are generally good at "making," to use the Middle English synonym of "composition." The other modern English word derived from Latin inventio is "inventory." This word refers to the storage of many diverse materials, but not to random storage: clothes thrown into the bottom of a closet cannot be said to be "inventoried." Inventories must have an order. Inventoried materials are counted and placed in locations within an overall structure which allows any item to be retrieved easily and at once. . . . *Inventio* has the meanings of both these English words, and this observation points to a fundamental assumption about the nature of "creativity" in classical culture. Having "inventory" is a requirement for "invention." Not only does this statement assume that one cannot create ("invent") without a memory store ("inventory") to invent from and with, but it also assumes that one's memory-store is effectively "inventoried," that its matters are in readily-recovered "locations." Some type of locational structure is a prerequisite for any inventive thinking at all.[68]

Tied to memory in this way, the creative process of *inventio* in an oral song tradition like that of late Quattrocento Naples would require an extensive and well-organized knowledge base. The tradition's models, formulas, and conventions would have been stored in the memorial archives of the performers (and likely, on some level, also of the listeners). These materials had to be familiar enough to be used in performance without excessive pre-planning. Moreover, as with any good inventory, the successful recollection of memorized elements in performance would require a strict organization or foundational structure upon which to build the various components of their composition, which could be either planned in advance or composed in real time (or, more likely, some combination of the two).

In a culture immersed in both orality and literacy, the process of creative oral performance, whether we call it improvisation or composition, relies upon and engages memory at every stage. Understanding composition, performance, improvisation, and creativity more generally as varying types of *inventio*, we are once again placing emphasis on the process of music-making rather than on the product that may result from that process. And yet, in order to learn anything at all about oral traditions and practices of the past, we must rely exclusively on what are essentially the products of oral processes, on fixed written records—musical and literary transcriptions, descriptions, histories, and even literary representations like Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Indeed, memory's role in creative traditions goes beyond the act of performance alone. It is part and parcel of all aspects of creative work from the initial process of exposure and learning that build up a creator's memorial storehouse to the preparatory organization and planning prior to performance to the creative act of performance itself (*inventio*) and ultimately, when applicable, to the

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68   Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 11–12.

recording or fixing of that act in writing. Navigating the various ways memory, recollection, and memorialization are entrenched in the surviving written records attesting to the song tradition of late-fifteenth-century Naples is a central task of this book. For it is only by understanding the memorial function of these varying written records that we can discern something about the oral tradition that they seek to represent.

The Role of Memory

Memory played a fundamental role in both oral and written musical practice of medieval and early modern Europe. Indeed, like many other musical and literary practices of the period, the oral-literate tradition of Neapolitan song relied on the *ars memorativa* (or "art of memory") in the acts of composition and performance, as well as storage (or record-keeping) and transmission. The bedrock of both oral practice and written record, memory's varied roles in the creative process bridged the gap between living practice and fixed archive in late-Quattrocento Naples, as elsewhere.

Among the wide-ranging scholarship that deals with the issue of memory and its relationship to artistic production, Carruthers's foundational monograph *The Book of Memory* discusses and surveys the literature on memory starting in antiquity and leading up through as late as the fifteenth century.[69] Within this survey, a central and oft-repeated theme is the importance of both oral and literate approaches to (and uses for) memory and the *ars memorativa* in Western culture from the time of the earliest writers.[70] Arguing that "medieval culture remained profoundly memorial in nature," Carruthers explains that practices of memorization were both aural and visual, ear-oriented (as in the use of mnemonics) and eye-oriented (as in the act of visualization).[71] In fact, because "writing . . . was always thought to be a memory aid, not a substitute for it," oral and literate practices were intertwined in the *ars memorativa* from the earliest periods of mixed oral-literate cultures.[72] As Carruthers explains,

> from antiquity, *memoria* was fully institutionalized in education, and like all institutions it was adapted to circumstances of history. *Memoria* unites written with oral transmission, eye with ear, and helps to account for the highly

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69 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*. On memory, see also Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*; Yates, *The Art of Memory*; Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories*; Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria*; Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*.

70 See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*.

71 Ibid., 144–56 (quoted passage at 156).

72 Ibid., 156.

"mixed" oral-literate nature of medieval cultures that many historians of the subject have remarked.[73]

Expanding upon Carruthers's work in the field of medieval music, Anna Maria Busse Berger has similarly emphasized that writing and literacy in medieval culture in no way precluded the need for memorization.[74] Rather, writing (and musical notation in particular) was used as an essential tool in developing *memoria* through visualization, one that "allowed for exact memorization and opened up new ways of committing material to memory."[75] One way Busse Berger demonstrates this hypothesis is by comparing the cataloging systems of chant in medieval tonaries with those found in literary florilegia, both of which function as a type of organized inventory for large swaths of material to be committed to memory.[76] In such collections, hierarchical classifications of chant by mode and liturgical function paired with mnemonic and visual aids like intonation formulas and page layout allowed for the development of an extensive memorial archive. As Busse Berger explains,

> the incipits, the *noeane* and Latin formulas, and the page layout brought the entire antiphon, which one already knew, back to mind just as a short passage in a florilegium would help recall the entire paragraph. The practice of recalling entire pieces through keywords was so common that it did not even require explanation.[77]

Using the example of medieval tonaries and florilegia, then, Busse Berger presents written evidence of the precise kind of inventoried knowledge systems that Carruthers argues would be indispensable to *inventio*. Indeed, as Carruthers explains, the "art of memory" might more aptly be named the "art of recollection," a flexible creative act of remembering that relies on strictly organized memorial archives and responds to contextual cues rather than an exact reproduction or imitation of a memorized entity.[78] Like in our understanding of improvisation and composition, then, the definition of "good memory" lies not in the rote memorization of large swaths of information, but rather in "the ability to move it about instantly, directly, and securely."[79] In other words, one's facility of recall paired with new ways of reconstructing and repurposing the information remembered was something to be admired.

Thus, in both oral and written practice, "composition . . . is rumination, cogitation, dictation, a listening and a dialogue, a 'gathering' (*collectio*) of voices from

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73 Ibid., 122.
74 Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 47–48.
75 Ibid., 45.
76 Ibid., 47–84.
77 Ibid., 77.
78 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 20.
79 Ibid., 19.

their several places in memory."[80] Depending on the degree to which planned and unplanned elements are drawn from the memorial archive, we might call this complex process "composition" or "improvisation" or some combination of the two ("fluid composition"?). Regardless, in all of these cases, the performer or composer would reconstruct (and, in a sense, recreate) memorized materials, thus engaging in a type of musical *inventio*. Stefano Lorenzetti has recently deconstructed the process of musical *inventio* and its connection to the rhetorical practice of *loci* as firmly grounded in the art of memory.[81] As Lorenzetti explains, within the classical art of memory, the rhetorical *locus* functions as a key mnemonic device "directly linked with the representation of specific physical places," which functions within the spatialized taxonomy, "the ordering and structuring of knowledge," of an organized memorial archive.[82] Using examples from two early-seventeenth-century music treatises, rhetorical *loci* are revealed as indispensable to the process of musical *inventio*, "allow[ing] the student to create mnemonic automatisms that govern the performance of *contrappunto alla mente*."[83] In such instances, portions of a *cantus firmus* act as mnemonic places in which a variety of images (or *imagines rerum* in the form of contrapuntal possibilities) could be stored, ready to be recalled and executed as needed in performance. The visualized space in which these materials are organized in the memory allows for the reading of a simple *cantus firmus* to function as a memorial cue, triggering the recollection of a wealth of musical knowledge, from contrapuntal patterns to cadential formulas to ornamental passages.

Ultimately, these various possibilities are embedded in the musical education of any good performer or composer, since, Lorenzetti explains, "as *loci communes*, they are part of a collective memory socially ratified, that nourishes the *inventio*."[84] This collective memory has no single author or composer, but rather belongs to all who are learned and skilled enough to use it, whether performer, composer, or both. Indeed, this type of memory (and the conventional ways in which it was used) once again blurs the line between improvisation and composition in medieval and early modern musical practice, making them all but indistinguishable:

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80 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 197–98.

81 Lorenzetti, "Musical *Inventio*."

82 Ibid., 28.

83 Ibid., 29. The two treatises that Lorenzetti uses are: Giovanni Battista Chiodino's *Arte pratica latina et volgare di far contrapunto a mente e a penna* (1610), the ninth chapter of which is entitled "De locis communibus musicalibus," and Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614), which emphasizes the *memoria locale*. In addition, Peter Schubert has identified two other treatises, also from the turn of the seventeenth century, that utilize the concept of *locus*—Montano's *Arte de musica teorica y pratica* (1592) and Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro* (1613)—in Schubert, "Musical Commonplaces in the Renaissance."

84 Lorenzetti, "Musical *Inventio*," 38.

> If the mnemonic archives of the singer-instrumentalist [i.e., improviser] and the composer share the same logical and mnemonic system, as well as the same melodic material, then the singer-instrumentalist who embellishes a melody that already exists on paper, and the composer who ornaments a virtual melody that potentially exists not yet fully formulated in his mind, are two conceptually similar activities which differ in degree and intensity, but not in nature: to write and rewrite, to compose in the mind and to compose on paper are not separate realms, but only different refractions of the same universe. Also performance, in fact, is not conceived, as it is today, as a fundamentally interpretative and reproductive activity, but as a means of re-creating music, conferring on it an always different perceptive identity.[85]

In other words, through the art of memory and its close relationship to musical *inventio*, both composers and performers follow similar processes in their creative work. Whether this work is conducted orally or in writing, in the mind or on paper, the differences we find are of degree, not kind. The written object (in this case, a musical transcription or lyric text) can take on an active mnemonic role in generating an improvised performance or, conversely, the mnemonic archive can inform the development of a written composition. In recollecting and reconstructing elements of one's memorial archive, the process of musical *inventio*—whether oral or written—can thus be characterized, in Lorenzetti's words, as "the continuous, inexhaustible re-writing of the existing."[86]

Navigating between Oral Practice and Written Record

Memory, in this oral-literate musical culture, thus forms the basis for creation, whether oral or written or some combination of the two. Yet, regardless of memory's connections to both oral and written processes, the transition from oral to written practice (and vice versa) in the composition or preservation of either poetry or song transforms the final product, and our experience of it, irrevocably. Writing and written records may have begun as memory aids in the creative process, but the fixed objects, the physical archive of recorded materials, that are produced by that writing have a transformative power over the performed events and repertories, which are first inscribed and ultimately memorialized.

In Treitler's description of "oral process" in chant, "music is received and coded through hearing, retained schematically in memory, and performed or transferred to writing from some mental idea of it."[87] Memory, in this case, forms "a mental

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85   Ibid., 37.
86   Ibid., 40.
87   Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, 244.

picture" or "phantasm," as it was described in Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscentia*, which is first embodied and then physically inscribed on the written page.[88] This change in medium, from an embodied "mental image" to an external written surface, is not without consequences however. As Marshall McLuhan has argued, the written word or book is an external medium or technology that extends the power of the eye (and, I would add, of the mind) outside the human body and thus changes our experience of the recorded entity entirely. He explains, "all media work us over completely. They are so pervasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical, and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered."[89]

Shifting media from a live performance to a written transcription transfers a new set of meanings and influences inherent to the written medium onto the newly inscribed song, thus transforming the essential material of the song itself. In epic poetry, for instance, Lord notes "the change [from oral practice to written record] has been from stability of essential story . . . to stability of text, of the exact words of the story."[90] This tendency towards detailed fixity in the transition from oral to written practice arises in music as well. The written medium changes what is important in a composition's basic framework from general model to exact melody. Yet, even in the conversion from oral to written expression, some traces of orality may be left behind. In the manuscript tradition of troubadour lyric, for example, the repertory's textual and musical fluidity, often referred to as *mouvance*, creates wildly differing versions of a given song from one *chansonnier* to the next.[91] In literary and textual studies, this phenomenon has been referred to by Bernard Cerquiglini, among others, as "variance," which he describes as being "so widespread and constitutive that . . . one could say that every manuscript is a revision, a version."[92] Such a high level of variability, also typical in medieval chant, has led music scholars to question what the notated setting (or musical score) truly represents, especially for a tradition founded in oral practice.[93] This question is still valid, however,

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88   In fact, Carruthers has emphasized that "the metaphor of memory as a written surface is so ancient and so persistent in all Western cultures that it must . . . be seen as a governing model." See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 16–17.

89   McLuhan, *The Medium Is the Massage*, 26.

90   Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 138.

91   The term *mouvance* was first introduced by Zumthor in chapter 2 of his *Essai de poétique médiévale*. Zumthor discussed this idea further as a product of the "intervocal" relationship in transmission between written and oral culture in the section "Intervocalité et mouvance" in his *La lettre et la voix*, 160–68. On the application of this term to troubadour lyric specifically, see Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, 26–28; Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, 71.

92   Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, 38. On the issue of textual variance and presentation, see also McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 40–45 and 70–80; Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*, 11–47 and 133–58.

93   See Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*, esp. chaps. 13 and 14.

in cases where such variability is not immediately evident. In fact, notated scores from throughout music history have presented scholars with a series of questions about the true essence of the musical work, revealing a constant tension between an incomplete visual representation and the more interpretative sonic execution.[94]

Given the role that we know writing played in the memorial culture of medieval and early modern Europe, the relationship between the musical event and its notated representation cannot be seen as a simple transition from oral to written. In fact, in the case of a late-fifteenth-century song tradition like Neapolitan lyric, the prevalence of writing in court and aristocratic cultures, and its connection to memory, cannot be denied. Rather, orality and writing existed side-by-side to form a complex and often multidirectional intersection of creative processes. As Blake Wilson has argued, the interactions of oral and literate cultural modes in the musical and literary traditions of Renaissance Italy resulted in a state of "mixed orality" in which oral and written practices coexisted independently while exerting varying levels of influence on each other.[95] The influence is clearly present, but one mode does not outweigh the other. Nor is that influence unidirectional. The creative process within such a culture requires both orality *and* literacy to become what it is. Indeed, Luca Degl'Innocenti and Brian Richardson have argued for the "fundamental and irreplaceable" nature of orality in early modern Italy, even with the equally important roles played by manuscript and print.[96] How, then, can we understand a predominantly oral tradition in such a highly literate context? And, more precisely, what are we to make of the written records that attest to that tradition?

In her seminal study of performance and embodied memory in the Americas, performance studies scholar Diana Taylor has developed her methodology around the interactions between "archive" and "repertoire" in our collective cultural memory. Taylor's framework addresses "the rift . . . between the *archive* of supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports ritual)." The "archive," as Taylor defines it, is made up of fixed, physical objects and works similarly to how written ethnographies are presented by Certeau, allowing knowledge and memory to work "across distance, over time and space" and, as a

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94   On the issue of writing musical texts, the editing of such texts, and what they represent, see Campagnolo, *Problemi e metodi*; Caraci Vela, *La critica del testo musicale*; Borio, *La scrittura come rappresentazione*; Borghi and Zappalà, *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale*; Borghetti, "Il manoscritto di musica"; Dumitrescu, Kügle, and Berchum, *Early Music Editing*.

95   As discussed earlier, the concept of "mixed orality" was originally introduced by Zumthor (see note 46 above). In Renaissance Italian culture specifically, Wilson has discussed issues of "mixed orality" in numerous studies related to the Florentine *lauda* tradition, as well as Venetian *giustiniane* and the *canterino* tradition throughout the Italian peninsula. Among these various studies, this particular term is most clearly defined in Wilson, "*Canterino* and *Improvvisatore*," 295.

96   Degl'Innocenti, Richardson, and Sbordoni, *Interactions between Orality and Writing*, 1.

result, to be privileged in writing-oriented European cultures.[97] Requiring "presence" rather than distance, the "repertoire," on the other hand, is live and embodied, and although the "performed acts" that make it up are typically considered to be ephemeral, Taylor argues that they actually "generate, record, and transmit knowledge" in their own way, acting as a treasury or inventory of cultural memory, which is both stored and transmitted through performance.[98] As Taylor explains,

> The archive and the repertoire have always been important sources of information, both exceeding the limitations of the other, in literate and semi-literate societies. They usually work in tandem and they work alongside other systems of transmission. . . . Innumerable practices in the most literate societies require both an archival and an embodied dimension. . . . Materials from the archive shape embodied practice in innumerable ways, yet never totally dictate embodiment.[99]

This push and pull between written "archive" and embodied or performed "repertoire" is at the heart of musical traditions throughout history, and it is of particular relevance in those that engage consciously with both writing and orality in composition and transmission. One significant example of this type of dual oral-written engagement can be found in the liturgical chant tradition of the modern-day Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the subject of a joint interdisciplinary study and edition by ethnomusicologist Kay Shelemay and medievalist musicologist Peter Jeffery.[100] Investigating a tradition in which oral and written practices coexist to form a single musical legacy, Shelemay and Jeffery describe a multifaceted creative process in which

> Ethiopian Christian chant is transmitted by carefully trained musical specialists . . . who perform the tradition orally without reference to written guides, and who also write out manuscripts for study and training purposes in which they notate the chants using an indigenous system of musical notation.[101]

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97 Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 19. Certeau actually talks about writing as an instrument of power because, as he explains, "writing *produces history*. On the one hand, it accumulates, it keeps an inventory of the secrets from the West, it loses nothing, it preserves them in an intact state. Writing is an archive. On the other hand, it declares, it goes to the end of the world, toward those destined to receive it according to the objectives that it desires—and 'without budging an inch,' without having the center of its action being moved, without any change in it through its progress. With writing the Westerner has a sword in his hand which will extend its gesture but never modify its subject. In this respect, it repeats and diffuses its prototypes." Certeau, "Ethno-Graphy," 215–16; emphasis in the original.

98 Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 21.

99 Ibid. One particularly interesting example of this tension between "archive" and "repertoire" in musical traditions of the Americas comes in the form of the *Cantares mexicanos* manuscript, a collection of Nahuatl songs transcribed and preserved in late-sixteenth-century New Spain as a mix of Europeanized song texts, vocables, and syllabic drumming notation. On the complex web of oral-literate meanings within this source, see Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World*.

100 Shelemay and Jeffery, *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant*.

101 Ibid., 1:2–3.

Thus exemplifying the complex and sometimes multidirectional relationship between the musical event and its notated representation, this tradition relies upon both "the interaction of memorization and improvisation with reading and writing" and "the role of performance as a determinant of content and style."[102] In such cases, the written record may be seen as an idealized snapshot of a single musical event, which serves as a memory aid and guide to future iterations; however, the multifaceted network of performances surrounding that particular utterance is lost to the limitations of textual fixity, recorded only in the embodied memory of the "repertoire."

Song performance in the oral-literate culture of early modern Italy most likely followed a similar process. In fact, within the oral diffusion of Renaissance Italian verse, Richardson explains, "poems might be recited or sung, to a single listener or a group, either with a text or without one, and in the latter case either from memory or in the first place improvised, probably with some degree of premeditation."[103] While we cannot study such practices through fieldwork in real time (as Shelemay could with Ethiopian chant), we can nonetheless recognize that Renaissance poet-improvisers composed lyric songs orally in performance from some combination of preexisting elements. Perhaps a text was employed or perhaps not. Regardless, the performance itself encompassed more than what could be captured on the written page. Yet, as Richardson points out, "even here the pens of others could supplement a poet's voice."[104]

Taking the late fifteenth-century example of Serafino Ciminelli dell'Aquila, no autograph copies of the famed poet-improviser's songs survive,[105] but they nonetheless circulated informally during his life through a combination of oral and written transmission.[106] It was not until after his death in August 1500 that Francesco Flavio undertook to publish them in the first of many single-author print editions: Ciminelli, *Opere del facundissimo Seraphino Aquilano* [Besicken].[107] In the preface

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102 Ibid., 1:1.

103 Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 240.

104 Ibid., 256.

105 This was in no way uncommon during this period, but the fact that Serafino died so young and was active predominantly as a performer meant that the levels variance and contamination surrounding his lyric output were particularly high. On these issues more generally, see McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 70–80.

106 Songs attributable to Serafino can be found in both notated and non-notated manuscripts produced during his lifetime in or around Naples. These include "Io ardo in foco" in the music manuscript known as the Foligno fragment and "Yo agio pianto tanto" in the music manuscript Seville-Paris and the literary manuscripts Vaticano latino 10656 and Vaticano latino 11255. For a discussion of these songs and their sources, see La Face Bianconi, *Gli strambotti del codice estense*, 118–21. On the manuscripts mentioned here, see parts III and IV of the present book.

107 Serafino was only thirty-four at the time of his death, a fact lamented at some length by his friend and biographer Vincenzo Colli (*detto* Calmeta). See Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*,

to this 1502 *editio princeps*, Flavio describes the difficulties he encountered in collecting Serafino's lyric works:

> Serafino's works were . . . dispersed throughout Italy, and divided and dissipated into so many minute parts, that they were barely recognizable as his. For this reason, many times I worried about a second death,[108] to be feared much more than the first: that is [the death] of his works, which—[having] come into the hand of the masses, and [having been] transcribed many times by this or that ignoramus—could not help but to end up badly and to go from bad to worse from one day to the next.[109]

Reflecting a tradition mired in the complexities of mixed orality, Flavio's words betray some considerable anxiety about the fate of Serafino's works, which had traveled (and been transformed) far beyond their point of origin. Most telling, perhaps, is the fact that the works he collected were often in an almost unrecognizable state, making Serafino's authorship of them somewhat questionable. This difficulty in determining a song's authorship is yet another indicator of oral practice, which typically favors collective memory and creation over individually composed (and controlled) texts.[110] Such collective or communal performance practice often resulted in numerous songs being left anonymous in manuscript copies.[111] In the case of Serafino, however, the poet-improviser's widespread fame both in life and after death led to an unusually high number of attributions in manuscript and print, many of which were false. Following the *editio princeps*, which contained a total of 323 poetic texts, for example, each new edition increased the number of poems

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74–77. For a discussion of Flavio's 1502 edition and those that followed it, see La Face Bianconi and Rossi, "'Soffrir *non* son disposto ogni tormento,'" esp. 240–42.

108 This "second death" is certainly one related to Serafino's works but can also be connected to the more widespread concept of the second death of the soul originating with Augustine's *The City of God against the Pagans* (Book XIII, chap. 12), making the loss of Serafino's works not just a practical issue, but a moral one as well. On this, see Wetzel, "Augustine on the Will," 350. Thanks to my friend and colleague Lucia Gemmani for suggesting this connection.

109 "Erano l'opere del Seraphino . . . disperse per tucta Italia, et in tante minute particule divise e dissipate, che a pena se conoscevano per soe; per el che più volte ho dubitato meco de una seconda morte, molto più che la prima da esser temuta: ciò è de le soe opere. Le quale pervenute in man del vulgo, et tante volte da questo et quello ignorante transcripte, non potevano esser se non mal capitate, et andar de male in peggio de giorno in giorno." Francesco Flavio, Preface to *Opere del facundissimo Seraphino Aquilano collecte per Francesco Flavio*, Roma, Giovanni Besicken, 24.XI.1502, cc. 7v–8v; quoted in La Face Bianconi and Rossi, "'Soffrir *non* son disposto ogni tormento,'" 240.

110 Lorenzetti points out the importance of collective memory in his discussion of "loci communes" in Lorenzetti, "Musical *Inventio*," 38–39. On the topic of oral counterpoint as "collective creation," see also Canguilhem, "Toward a Stylistic History."

111 This is, in fact, a significant aspect of the repertory under consideration in this book, much of which is left anonymous in both music and literary manuscripts. See my full repertoire census in appendix A. Issues of anonymity and attribution (false or otherwise) come up in many other musical repertories of late medieval and Renaissance periods as well. See, for example, Hartt, "The Problem of the Vitry Motet Corpus"; Saunders, "Anonymity and Ascription"; Feldman, "Authors and Anonyms"; and the essays in the collected volume Clark and Leach, *Citation and Authority*.

attributed to Serafino indiscriminately from 323 in 1502 to 495 in 1503 and up to as many as 753 by 1516.[112] Similarly, a manuscript collection of poetry compiled around the turn of the sixteenth century, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5159 (hereafter Vaticano latino 5159), contains copious attributions to Serafino for texts that were actually authored by a host of other poets, including: Vincenzo Colli (Calmeta), Angelo Poliziano, Antonio Tebaldeo, Paolo Cortese, Benedetto Gareth (Cariteo), Antonio Fregoso (Campofregoso), Panfilo Sasso, Lorenzo de' Medici, Girolamo Benivieni, and Iacopo Sannazaro, among others.[113] Indeed, Serafino's fame as a poet-improviser was so great that, as Calmeta noted, "if a new strambotto was heard, even if it had been composed by another author, it was attributed to Serafino."[114] This type of attribution relied not on textual control, but on performance style and fame.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, manuscript anthologies of vernacular lyric, both attributed and unattributed, abounded in cultural centers throughout the Italian peninsula, and notated music manuscripts were beginning to incorporate increasingly significant numbers of Italian-texted song in their compilations.[115] The texts that survive in these collections form part of the "archive" of Italian song in this period, a fixed historical record that stretches across a temporal distance of hundreds of years. Yet, to some degree, they may also bear witness to key aspects of an embodied performance "repertoire." Within the context of this predominantly oral tradition, these song transcriptions could have a variety of functions, from that of a simple written record to a memorial aid for future performances or even a carefully crafted memorialization. Indeed, experiencing a lyric performance in Renaissance Italy, as Richardson has argued, could very well have led those who were present to seek out a manuscript copy of the songs they heard. Conversely, many lyric texts that circulated in writing were ultimately intended for oral performance, either through spoken recitation or song. Within this combined oral and written transmission, "written diffusion could thus lead to performance, and performance to written diffusion, in a collaborative continuum between pen and voice."[116]

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112 The edition printed in Bologna by Caligola Bazalieri in May 1503 had 495 texts. Thirteen years later, the edition known as "La giuntina" (Florence, Filippo Giunti, 1516) had increased its contents to 753 texts. No less than fifty-three editions of Serafino's poems were published between the first edition in 1502 and 1568, some including up to 753 texts, many of which were attributed to other authors in contemporary sources. For more on the history of Serafino's edited works see La Face Bianconi and Rossi, "'Soffrir *non* son disposto ogni tormento,'" 241–42.

113 For more on this see ibid., 249–50, n. 8..

114 "se strammoto novo si sentiva, ancora che d'altro auttore fusse stato composto, a Serafino se attribuiva." Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 64.

115 See part III for a discussion of Neapolitan music manuscripts that preserve a significant number of Italian-texted songs. Within that part, see also note 57 for a similar list of manuscripts outside the Neapolitan context.

116 Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 258.

Each surviving written record we have speaks to some portion of this process through its material structure, organization, and layout, as well as variants, errors, and even omissions. By asking how and why these sources came into being, as well as what their function might have been, the interface between oral and literate practices (between "pen" and "voice") comes into clearer focus.

Decoding Written Sources of an Oral Song Tradition in Aragonese Naples

In both literary and musical sources, the surviving evidence of the Neapolitan song tradition inscribes elements of orality, naturalness, and *ex tempore* self-expression squarely within the cultural and material framework of a literate society. Indeed, as Sannazaro's *Arcadia* makes clear, both the naturale vena of orality and the carefully crafted books of literacy held high cultural clout in late-Quattrocento Naples. As I will discuss in part II, the Aragonese royal courts of Castelnovo and Castel Capuano, both situated within the capital city of Naples, played host to highly literate communities, which created a wealth of written documents and books in Latin as well as various vernacular languages, including Tuscan, a courtly version of Neapolitan, French, Castilian, and Catalan.[117] Moreover, an active culture of musical literacy in Naples flourished among members of the Aragonese musical chapel (particularly Johannes Tinctoris) and could be found to some degree in other contexts as well. Serafino, for example, received formal musical training from the music theorist Gulielmus Guarnerius when both were at Antonio de Guevera's provincial court in Potenza in the late 1470s;[118] and Tinctoris tutored King Ferrante's daughter Beatrice in music, even dedicating one of his treatises to her, in the years leading up to her marriage to the King of Hungary in 1476.[119] High levels of musical and textual literacy also converged in the friendship and epistolary exchange

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[117] As I will discuss in part II, the Castelnovo was home to the Aragonese king and his court (as well as the royal library), whereas the Castel Capuano was home to the Duke of Calabria (the title given to the king's son) and his family and court. It is important to note, however, that the scholarly activities and literate culture of the Kingdom of Naples extended beyond the humanist elite surrounding the royal courts in Naples to include smaller provincial courts throughout southern Italy as well. On the books (in a multitude of languages) belonging to different members of both the royal family and Neapolitan aristocracy, see De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*; De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana: Supplemento*.

[118] Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 60. See part II for my discussion of this noteworthy musical-literary connection, which took place at the court of the Count of Potenza—well outside the urban confines of the Kingdom's capital.

[119] The treatise in question is the *Diffinitorium musice*. On this treatise, see Cecilia Panti's introduction to Tinctoris, *Diffinitorium musice*, xxxi–xxxii. See also my discussion of this dedication to Beatrice d'Aragona in part II.

between Tinctoris and the humanist scribe Gianmarco Cinico.[120] Within this context, well-known figures like Benedetto Gareth (known as "il Cariteo") and, during certain periods, Serafino were active in performing improvised lyric song among a wider community of now largely anonymous poet-singers.

Represented allegorically in *Arcadia* as bucolic songs being etched into the bark of a tree, the written transcriptions of Neapolitan lyric in late-fifteenth-century manuscripts form a historical archive attesting to a much larger and more varied oral tradition. These copies make up, as Nino Pirrotta might have said, the tip of Neapolitan song's proverbial iceberg.[121] And, just like Sannazaro's pastoral work, they seek in varying ways to record and memorialize an ephemeral embodied practice. My aim is not, however, to somehow revivify the experience of a long past oral tradition through a kind of reverse engineering of written sources that attest to its practice. Reliving the exact circumstances of the song performances in late-Quattrocento Naples would be an impossible and implausible feat. Rather, by considering all of the sources attesting to this tradition both individually and together, I seek to ascertain a general outline of Neapolitan song's typical characteristics as a musico-poetic practice and to reconstruct an image of that tradition's prominence and cultural value throughout the Kingdom of Naples, and not just at the Aragonese courts. Furthermore, as evidence of the evolving connections between orality and literacy in Naples, I aim to explore the differing functions and qualities of these written sources in order to understand how each one contributes to what survives as a written, and therefore materially fixed, memorial archive of Neapolitan song.

Attesting to the varied aspects of humanistic, poetic, and musical activity in Naples's oral-literate culture, the main sources for investigation in this book are: (1) musical manuscripts preserving polyphonic Italian-texted secular song; (2) literary manuscript collections of Neapolitan lyric poetry; and (3) historical, literary, and theoretical texts produced by Neapolitan humanists and musicians. The surviving musical and literary manuscripts connected to late-Quattrocento Naples transmit a substantial body of lyric song both with and without notated musical settings. The four musical collections associated with late fifteenth-century Naples form the central repertorial basis for this project, preserving 106 Italian-texted works: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Ms. N 871; Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," G 20; Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina, 5-I-43 + Paris, Bibliothèque de France nationale, nouv. acq. franç. 4379; and Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico

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120 See MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*." The original letter is preserved in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. XII.F.50, fols. 2v–4r. It has also been transcribed and published in De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, 1:80–81, n. 76. For a broader discussion of this letter and its implications for the present study, see part II.

121 See Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," 72–73.

Musicale, Ms. Q 16.[122] Produced in the 1480s and 1490s, each manuscript preserves lyric songs alongside other repertories in either *chansonnier*-style collections or anthologies of sacred and secular works. Scholars like Alan Atlas and Isabel Pope have recognized this mix of local and international styles as a reflection of musical life at the Aragonese royal court, which fostered both Franco-Flemish and Neapolitan performance traditions.[123] As I will discuss in part III, despite some similarities in provenance and contents, however, each collection has a distinct material profile that suggests differing functions and goals.

The three surviving literary anthologies of fifteenth-century Neapolitan lyric—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 1035; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 10656; and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2752—preserve more cohesive lyric collections made up of almost exclusively Neapolitan-vernacular works, a number of which are concordant with song texts (or incipits) found in the Neapolitan music manuscripts described above.[124] These collections transmit more complete versions of the song texts found in the musical manuscripts, and so provide a fuller picture of each song and its broader cultural context. As with the musical manuscripts, the level of care taken in the compilation of each of these collections demonstrates differing functions and goals. As literary sources, they often engage in specifically literary tropes, such as the *tenzone* or the acrostic sonnet,[125] that seem to represent a community of intellectually self-conscious and visually oriented poets. Yet, in their presentation and inclusion of song texts (both with and without surviving notated settings), they can also be seen as songbooks in and of themselves, perhaps lacking musical notation, but nonetheless providing texts as memorial cues for a larger musical context.[126]

The song concordances, with or without musical notation, between these two types of sources demonstrate the cultural currency that certain songs of the Neapolitan lyric tradition held in two major areas of the kingdom's creative and artistic life. In addition, analyzing the way these songs appear in different types of sources reveals a process of transformation resulting from the written media themselves. The song texts preserved in literary manuscripts are generally copied in the

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122   For more on these sources, see a full description and discussion of each manuscript in part III.

123   Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 114–25; Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction."

124   There are a total of seventeen textual concordances between songs in music manuscripts and Neapolitan literary manuscripts from this period. While this number may initially seem small, it accounts for approximately one-sixth of the overall notated song repertory and is generally representative of a much broader practice (as this book will demonstrate). For a full discussion of these three manuscripts as sources for the Neapolitan lyric tradition, see part IV.

125   The acrostic sonnet is particularly prevalent in Riccardiana 2752. The most prominent example of a *tenzone* (as well as a prose epistolary exchange between De Jennaro and Cantelmo) can be found in Paris 1035. See my discussion in part IV.

126   This is a point that will be emphasized, especially in the case of Paris 1035, in part IV. See also, my recent article Elmi, "Singing Lyric in Late Quattrocento Naples."

style of any other text in the collection, ultimately leaving much to the imagination. Those in music manuscripts typically present three- or four-part polyphonic renderings of what was once a monophonic song in some version of choir book format, again reflecting elements of layout and compositional make-up more typical of other repertories copied in the same sources. Neither of these transcription styles relegates the song entirely to the visual field, however. The non-notated text transcription relies on memory and artistic initiative to fill in the melody, rhythm and instrumental accompaniment of what would most likely have been a monophonic solo performance. The notated polyphonic song in choir book format presents a visual representation that, as Vincenzo Borghetti has argued, "favors or even presupposes aural re-creation and engagement" due to the abstract and isolated layout of the individual voices making up the polyphonic whole.[127] In the case of both literary and music manuscripts, the Neapolitan songs are frequently left anonymous and, when notated, are characterized by extreme simplicity in both texture and melodic style.

It is tempting to imagine many of these written musical objects as late fifteenth-century lead sheets or broadside ballad-sheets, serving either as the basis for improvised performance or as a memorial sketch of a past, or future, musical event.[128] While this is certainly possible, there are still several issues left unresolved. Since, for example, improvised sung poetry was typically performed as accompanied monophonic song, why would written versions of these works be realized in three- or four-voice polyphony? Furthermore, how can the often incomplete or corrupted poetic texts within the written music be reconciled with the importance of poetry in the improvised tradition? Given that the circumstances of a song's written transmission may have been vastly different from those of its oral performance, one possible answer (as implied above) is that the medium of preservation, in this case the handwritten songbook, necessarily transforms these improvised works into new and different entities. Polyphony in choir book format and inconsistencies in poetic texts are standard features in sacred and secular vocal music manuscripts from Quattrocento Italy. This type of written medium may thus have radically transformed the most basic and vital features of an orally composed song.

Taken together, these seven manuscript sources present many noteworthy differences as well as similarities. Some seem to have been created on the initiative of a single compiler or scribe, while others were the result of a collective effort by several. Some present Neapolitan texts as simple, unadorned sketch-like texts, while others present them with formal script and carefully decorated capital initials.

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127 "favorisce, o, addirittura, presuppone la ri-creazione, il coinvolgimento aurale." Borghetti, "Il suono e la pagina," 104.

128 For a discussion of jazz lead sheets, see Monson, "Jazz as Political and Musical Practice." On broadside ballads, see Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England*, 299–334.

Some prioritize Neapolitan lyric within the organization of the overall compilation, while others treat it as an afterthought copied into the empty spaces between other more important repertories. All have a tendency toward anonymity, though some more so than others. The relationship between these sources and the oral tradition they represent is variable and not always clear. Elements that are privileged or emphasized in one source can seem insignificant or even irrelevant in another. In each one, evaluating the source's possible function as well as the goals of its compilers—to the extent that those elements can be determined—reveals information not just about the written transmission of Neapolitan song, but also about the role writing played in the preservation and performance practice of an oral tradition pursued within a highly literate society.

Although the written preservation of text and music was far from uncommon in late-Quattrocento Naples, the extant copies of lyric song do present some atypical features compared to other, more writing-oriented texts and musical repertories of the period. Indeed, in some ways, the scribes, compilers, and patrons responsible for recording these works in writing ultimately preserved what has come down to us as fictional graphic representations of a living oral practice, the embodied memory of which is unfortunately lost. Nonetheless, together these sources do tell a story, limited though it may be. Some preserve Neapolitan song in personal copies that aim to create a lasting record of a memorable experience, while others convey traces of possible use as scores or memory aids in performance, and others still appear to be carefully curated and self-conscious collections intended to memorialize a cherished cultural practice, to lend it an enduring and powerful voice in the written medium so prized among Renaissance humanists and intellectuals.

Ultimately, the surviving Neapolitan song repertory represents varying levels of self-ethnography. The manuscript collections, historical descriptions, theoretical and literary works that preserve and transmit the records of this oral practice demonstrate how writing was used to record, recollect, recreate, and ultimately memorialize a communal practice of song-making during a tumultuous time in the history of southern Italy. Some copies, perhaps preserved on less durable media, have likely been lost while others preserve traces of orality with varying levels of fixity and transformation. How and why these records were created and preserved is the central question that this book seeks to answer.

Part II

The Politics and Patronage of Singing Lyric in the Kingdom of Naples

"Tante diverse e varïe canzone"

In 1486 in the wake of the notorious Neapolitan *congiura dei baroni*, Giovanni Antonio Petrucci or de Petruciis (ca. 1455–1486),[1] son of the Count of Policastro Antonello de Petruciis[2] and member of the Kingdom of Naples's feudal aristocracy, composed a *canzoniere* of around eighty sonnets from his jail cell in the dungeons of the Castel Nuovo.[3] Accompanied in the original autograph manuscript by the marginal rubric "Al barone de li Squacquari,"[4] one of these sonnets, in particular, laments in some detail the loss of happier times past:

Or dove sono andati mo, o Barone,	Now where have they gone, oh Baron,
li nostri risi con li iochi e feste,	Our laughter during games and feasts,
tante allegricze con mutar de veste,	So many delights in the changing of costumes,
tante diverse e varïe canzone,	So many diverse and varied songs,
el docto disputare . . . questïone	The learned debates . . . discussions
de omne doctrina, e mai de cose meste?	Of every discipline, and never of sad things?
O como revoltate sono preste!	Oh, how quickly they turned around!
Ai crudo fato, che ne si' cagione,	Ah cruel fate, since of this you are the culprit,
me hai posto al fundo e factome meschino!	You pushed me down and made me miserable!
O Luca Vanni, o lepido Scarola,	Oh Luca Vanni, oh witty Scarola,
o Masi Aquosa, o caro Philippino,	Oh Masi Aquosa, o dear Philippino,
Togato, o Puccio, Vincenzo de Nola,	Togato, oh Puccio, Vincenzo de Nola,
suave Scala, Vito et o Antonino,	Charming Scala, Vito and oh Antonino,
de haverme perso credo assai ve dola![5]	Having lost me, I believe, you suffer greatly!

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1   For more on Giovanni Antonio de Petruciis, see Emiliano Picchiorri's introduction to Petruciis, *Sonetti*, XIII–XXIV.

2   For a recent biography of Antonello de Petruciis, see Russo, "PETRUCCI." In addition, a modern critical edition was published more recently by Emiliano Picchiorri: Petruciis, *Sonetti*.

3   This collection is preserved in the autograph manuscript Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. XIII D 70. A selection of these poems is presented in Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 113–23. Two editions of the full contents of the canzoniere were attempted in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to varying degrees of success: Le Coultre and Schultze, *Sonecti composti*; Perito, *La congiura dei Baroni*. In addition, a modern critical edition was published more recently: Petruciis, *Sonetti*.

4   I have not seen a copy of this manuscript myself, but this is confirmed in the editions of the poem by Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 118–19, n. VIII 1. Variant readings of the marginal rubric are also given in Le Coultre and Schultze, *Sonecti composti*, 34 ("quacquando"); Perito, *La congiura dei Baroni*, 221 ("quacqari"); and Petruciis, *Sonetti*, 47 ("quocquam"). Picchiorri does not consider Altamura's reading, but he does admit that the word is difficult to read. Without seeing the manuscript myself, it is impossible to be sure which of these readings is most accurate; however, I will say that Altamura's reading makes the most sense from a biographical standpoint, which I explain in my discussion below.

5   Quoted from Petruciis, *Sonetti*, 47–48. The poem is also edited in Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 118–19. See also the quotation and discussion of this poem and others by Giovanni Antonio as testaments to the festivities of Aragonese Naples in Addesso, *Teatro e festività*, 22–24.

A testament to the varied musical and literary practices of the Neapolitan aristocracy in the second half of Quattrocento, this text is divided into two main rhetorical sections. The opening *quartine* provide a nostalgic recounting of a variety of entertainments, as well as artistic and intellectual pursuits; and the concluding *terzine* act as a litany, crying out to the poet's friends and colleagues who have lost him to his cruel imprisonment and impending death. In the first *quartina*, games and feasts are tied to costumes and songs as the common causes for laughter and delight among the various members of the Kingdom's noble class. This list, and indeed the syntactic unit, goes on into the second *quartina* to include the scholarly discourse ("el docto disputar / de omne doctrina") among the intellectual elite—without a doubt an allusion to the *Accademia Pontaniana* of which our poet was a young member.[6] Thus enumerating the varied pastimes that were once enjoyed in Naples, these first six verses encapsulate the rich artistic and intellectual pursuits of aristocratic life, which existed both in and outside the Kingdom's capital city.

Yet, by the time he composed this sonnet, Giovanni Antonio de Petruciis's idyllic picture of aristocratic *otium* had been transformed into a grotesque history of political plotting and conspiracy in the 1485 *congiura dei baroni*, followed swiftly in 1486 by King Ferrante I's suppression of and vendetta against the baronial conspirators in what Guido D'Agostino has called the king's "bloody repression."[7] Halfway through the second *quartina* the young baron thus laments his cruel fate and sudden shift of fortunes and then, in the two subsequent *terzine*, expands his address from a single dedicatee (the "Barone" of line 1 identified in the marginal rubric as "de li Squacquari") to a broad community of friends.[8] With this roll call of companions, the community of men taking part in the varied entertainments listed at the sonnet's outset comes into clearer focus.[9] To start, the poem's dedicatee, the "barone de li Squacquari,"[10] must have been a member of the Squacquaro

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6   For more on the *Accademia Pontaniana*, see below.

7   D'Agostino, *La capitale ambigua*, 52: "sanguinosa repressione." For a fuller discussion of the *congiura dei baroni*, see below.

8   The identities of these various men are discussed in Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 118–19, n. VIII 1–13. For a slightly different perspective, see also the notes accompanying the edition in Petruciis, *Sonetti*, 47–48.

9   It's worth mentioning, also, that this type of listing of friends and companions also appears in one of the notated songs preserved in the Neapolitan music manuscripts under investigation in this book: the popular-style *caccia* "A la chaza, a la chaza" in Seville-Paris. The text of the *secunda pars* reads: "Te qui balzan te qui liom / te qui fasam te qui falcon / te qui tristan te qui pizon / te qui alan te qui carbon / chiama li brachi del monte babion / te qui pizolo te qui spagnolo / habi bonochio al bon capriolo / A te augustino a te spagnolo a te / vidila vidila vidila vidila vidila vidila / a quella a quella pilgiala / che licani non la straza." For more information on this *caccia* setting, see the repertoire census in appendix A (census no. 2) as well as my comparison between this *caccia* and the one in Bologna Q 16 in part III.

10   Since Perito and Picchiorri both have variant readings of this rubric ("quacqari" and "quocquam," respectively) that do not match Altamura's, Picchiorri has suggested that the identity of this

family of Gaeta, feudal landowners in the Kingdom's central province of Terra di Lavoro where the Petrucci also owned land.[11] Furthermore, those mentioned in the sonnet's final verses seem to have been either members of the nobility, functionaries of the crown, or both. Luca Vanni was a member of the Sicilian nobility; Francesco Scarola was a royal scribe and administrator; Tommaso Aquosa, originally from Messina, was a royal administrator for kings Alfonso I and Ferrante I, as well as a member of the *Accademia Pontaniana*; Filippino Bononio, originally from Lodi, was a royal scribe, advisor, and bureaucrat; a native of Cava dei Tirreni near Salerno, Ferrante Quaranta (*detto* Togato) covered a variety of bureaucratic roles for the royal court; moreover, the Florentine Francesco Pucci, a student of Angelo Poliziano, lived and worked in Naples for much of his life as poet, teacher, royal librarian, and member of the *Accademia*; Vincenzo Mazzeo de Nola worked as the royal commissioner in charge of tax collection in the Kingdom's provinces of Principato Citra and Basilicata; another member of the *Accademia*, the Neapolitan-born Francesco Scala worked for the crown first as royal librarian under Alfonso I and then as president of the treasury under Ferrante I; Vito Pisanelli too worked for a time as president of the treasury and then as royal secretary to King Federico; and finally, Antonino Rota, originally from Sorrento, worked as an official and then as president of the royal treasury.[12]

The specific details of these men's lives may not be directly germane to a history of lyric poetry and song in Aragonese Naples, but their social and political affiliations within the Kingdom do speak to the broader social-intellectual community within which a poet-aristocrat like Giovanni Antonio de Petruciis lived and took part in the delightful games, intellectual debates, and, most significant for our purposes, varied songs that preceded his imprisonment. Indeed, his list of friends reveals a mix of nobility and well-trained functionaries, Neapolitans and immigrant foreigners. Three, in addition to the poet himself, were members of the *Accademia Pontaniana*, and four worked as either scribes or librarians for the

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"Barone" could be, as Perito also posits, one of the presidents of the *Regia Camera della Sommaria*: Nicola Barone. See Petruciis, *Sonetti*, 47; and Perito, *La congiura dei Baroni*, 98–100. This is certainly possible, but does not seem very likely given that Picchiorri still provides insufficient explanation for his reading of the word "quocquam," which he suggests could mean "of times past."

11 The Squacquaro family is also listed as one of a number of noble families from Gaeta (Terra di Lavoro) in Almagiore, *Raccolta di varie notitie historiche*, 35. Within the larger geographical divisions of the Kingdom, the Terra di Lavoro is one of twelve provinces and encompasses the cities of Naples, Gaeta, Capua, and Caserta, among others. For a map of the original provinces of the Kingdom, see figure C.1 in appendix C. The landowning barons and nobility of Gaeta and the Terra di Lavoro will become an important point of reference for later discussions of Neapolitan poetry and song in parts III and IV, in particular with regard to the music manuscript Montecassino 871 and the literary manuscript Paris 1035.

12 The information on the identities and histories of these men is drawn from Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 118–19, n. VIII 1–13.

crown. Their names may never (or only rarely) come up in documents connected to singing poetry during this period; and yet, their presence in the ill-fated baron's lyric lament provides fodder for scholarly conjecture. Could these be some of the unnamed poets and singers who composed the hundreds of anonymous lyric songs found in Neapolitan music and literary manuscripts of the late Quattrocento?

With the clear exception of Francesco Pucci,[13] there is, of course, no way of knowing with any certainty. Nonetheless, the question stands as an invitation to investigate more deeply into the potential communities responsible for Neapolitan songmaking during this period. By emphasizing the "tante diverse e varïe canzone" in his nostalgic, and in many ways tragic, representation of Neapolitan life, Giovanni Antonio situates song performance within the larger socio- and geo-political power structure of the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples. As this chapter will demonstrate, the historical and political circumstances in late-Quattrocento Naples were integral to the artistic production of musicians, poets, and intellectuals throughout the Kingdom. During this time, the historical conditions and trends in patronage—from both the royal family in Naples and various members of the Neapolitan aristocracy throughout the Kingdom—influenced the production of music and poetry substantially by creating an environment in which a number of local and foreign traditions were integrated into a complex and heterogeneous culture.

The Political Patronage of the Aragonese Royal Family

Preceded by the French Angevin dynasty (1268–1435) and concluded by a series of invasions that ultimately transformed the Kingdom into a Spanish viceroyalty, the Aragonese reign over the Kingdom of Naples was relatively short-lived, lasting only a little over half a century. From Alfonso V of Aragon's first entrance into Naples in 1442 to Federico I's surrender to French invaders in 1501, the Kingdom saw a dizzying mix of political turmoil, foreign diplomacy, and internal challenges, along with a thriving cosmopolitanism and flourishing of artistic patronage and creativity that could only exist in such a large and culturally diverse territory.[14] Throughout their reign, in fact, the Aragonese kings created within Naples a unique blend of cultures and traditions by bringing Spanish musicians and poets, Northern Italian humanists, and Franco-Flemish theorists and singers into a complex local culture that had multiple levels of aristocracy and an active poetic community of its own. How these varied cultures melded together over the course of the Quattrocento

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13   On Francesco Pucci, see Pignatti, "PUCCI."

14   For a map of the Kingdom of Naples with the individual provinces delineated, see figure C.1 in appendix C.

greatly influenced the musical and poetic traditions of the day, which drew on numerous genres, languages, and styles.

Alfonso *Il magnanimo*

For seven years following the death of the last Angevin monarch Giovanna II in 1435, Alfonso V of Aragon engaged in a prolonged battle against René d'Anjou (1409–1480) for dominion over the Kingdom of Naples.[15] Given the political intriguing of his predecessor and the state of anarchy and civil strife that followed her death, Alfonso's 1442 military victory over Naples heralded an era of prosperity and relative stability in the *Mezzogiorno* with the city of Naples itself as the cornerstone of a new policy of centralized power.[16] Indeed, following his lavish triumphal entrance into the city on February 23, 1443,[17] King Alfonso (V of Aragon and I of Naples) set out immediately, first, to rehabilitate the city's infrastructure and general governance and, second, to consolidate his power (and that of his illegitimate son and heir Ferdinando) in a parliament with members of the Kingdom's aristocracy held at the convent of San Lorenzo.[18] He also solidified his image as a benevolent and powerful monarch by refurbishing, embellishing, and modernizing the old Angevin fortress known as the Castel Nuovo, which would eventually be adorned with a marble triumphal arch (begun during Alfonso's reign and completed twelve years after his death) celebrating the first Aragonese king's victory and magnificent entry into the city of Naples in the early 1440s.[19]

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15   This conflict was due in large part to the conflicting impulses of Giovanna II herself, who first chose Alfonso to be her heir in 1420 and then changed her mind in favor of her Angevin cousin, d'Anjou, by the time of her death. There was also a third pretender to the Neapolitan crown. For an extended historical narrative and discussion of this seven-year battle for power, see Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 561–87.

16   For a history of Giovanna II's reign, as well as her oscillations in choosing an heir to succeed her, see ibid., 281–307.

17   This triumphal entrance was widely celebrated by historians and chroniclers of the period—including Ferraiolo, Antonio Beccadelli (*detto* Panormita), and Loise de Rosa, among others—for its magnificence. For a more general discussion of the music in the 1443 *Trionfo di Alfonso* see D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano." See also a focused study of Antonio Beccadelli's recounting of the triumphal entry, *Alphonsi Regis Triumphus* (preserved in Valencia, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València, Ms. 445), in Capilla Aledón, "La conmemoración."

18   With regard to Alfonso's policies in the city of Naples and throughout the Kingdom more broadly (as those policies pertain to Naples's feudal barons) see Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 561–624; Del Treppo, *Il Regno dagli angioini ai borboni*, 94–122; Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*; Croce, *Storia del regno di Napoli*, 43–101.

19   For more on the renovations to the Castel Nuovo, as well as Alfonso's goals in choosing this particular castle among the five different options in Naples at the time of his arrival in 1442, see Divitiis, "Alfonso I of Naples."

In rehabilitating and adorning the Kingdom's capital city, and his new home within that city, Alfonso not only undertook to cement his power within a new far-reaching, yet centralized government; he also, as Bianca de Divitiis has argued, strove to "express his own image as the sovereign of a transnational kingdom who wielded a power which, even though monarchical, was free from tyrannical ambitions."[20] This carefully cultivated image was encapsulated by the inscription at the base of the Castel Nuovo's triumphal entryway: *Alfonsus Rex Hispanicus Siculus Italicus Pius Clemens Invictus* ("Alfonso, king of Spain, Sicily, Italy, pious, merciful, unconquered").[21] Marked thus as a symbol of the king's power and benevolence, the Castel Nuovo was soon established as a center for humanistic learning and came to house an impressive royal library with an active scriptorium.[22] Indeed, encouraged early in his reign by his Ferrarese ally Borso d'Este (1413–1471) to change his image from that of a "Re di Guerra" (or "warrior king") to that of a magnanimous and peace-loving patron,[23] King Alfonso populated his court with well-trained humanists from outside the Kingdom, such as Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) and Antonio Beccadelli, *detto* Panormita (1394–1471).[24]

In addition to their intellectual work as scholars and historians, these men were employed to act as political advisors, diplomats, and cultural leaders for the Kingdom

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20   Divitiis, "Alfonso I of Naples," 321.

21   Ibid.

22   The Aragonese royal library has been the subject of numerous and extensive studies, including De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*; Altamura, "La biblioteca aragonese"; Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli*; Toscano, *La Biblioteca reale di Napoli*; and Cherchi and De Robertis, "Un inventario della biblioteca aragonese."

23   The letter from Borso d'Este to Alfonso was written in 1445, two years after Alfonso's triumphal entry into the city of Naples. In it, he warns Alfonso of his reputation among Italian rulers as a "Re di Guerra" and urges him to come to an understanding of peace particularly with the Venetians and the Florentines: "per loro [the Venetians and the Florentines] se affà la pace e plu la desiderano che altri non crede, e viveriti sequro et iocundamente, e monstrariti ala brigata, cioè a tute le potentie de Italia, che vuy siti Re che desidera e cercha pace: e che non siti quello Re di Guerra che se dice, el quale haria animo de regere et governare bene tuto el mondo; e levaranose de le loro mente la suspetione che hano, che è, che vuy omnino stati disposto e vogliati farvi inanti in Italia e farvene S.^re de tuta." ("For the Venetians and Florentines, there must be peace and they desire it more than anyone can believe, and they will live securely and light-heartedly, and they will show the brigade—that is, all the powers of Italy—that you are a King that desires and seeks out peace, and that you are not that so-called warrior king, who would have the spirit to reign and govern the whole world well; and they will remove from their minds the suspicion that they have, which is that you are entirely willing and you want to push yourself further ahead in Italy and make yourself Lord of all of it.") Quoted in Foucard, "Proposta fatta dalla corte estense," 736. For a discussion of Alfonso's image-building efforts, partially in response to this letter from Borso d'Este, see Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 17–18.

24   This is of course just a sampling of a larger community of Latin-literate humanists in Naples during this period. Some others include Bartolomeo Facio, Poggio Bracciolini, Pier Candido Decembro, Biondo Flavio, Enea Silvio Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II), Gianozzo Manetti, Giorgio de Trebizonda.

as a whole. The Roman-born Lorenzo Valla, for example, worked as a secretary (and reluctant historian) in the employ of King Alfonso beginning as early as 1435 and continued in that role until his return to Rome in 1448.[25] Among the numerous and substantial humanistic works he composed under Alfonso's generous patronage, Valla is perhaps most well-known for his 1440 *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio* in which he demonstrated that the Donation of Constantine was a forgery—a calculated scholarly choice in favor of his Aragonese patron's interests, which were in direct conflict with Pope Eugenius IV's preference for an Angevin claim to the Neapolitan throne.[26] A friend and rival to Valla and one of the first humanists to enter Alfonso's service, Antonio Beccadelli (also known as Panormita after his birthplace Palermo or *Panormus* in Latin) played various administrative and political roles for the Aragonese crown during his long tenure from 1434 until his death in 1471.[27] His rhetorical and literary talents were employed in delicate diplomatic missions and frequent correspondence with foreign leaders, but his greatest cultural achievement in Naples by far was the establishment of the humanist academy known as the *Porticus Antoniona*, the forerunner to the highly regarded and influential *Accademia Pontaniana*.[28]

King Alfonso's humanistic literary affinities and Panormita's role as an intellectual and cultural leader at his court were even memorialized in Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Vita di Alfonso Re di Napoli* (ca. 1480–98):

> He loved the *literati* so much, as is said; and always, while he was in Naples, every day he had Messer Antonio Panormita read Livy's *Deche* [a vernacular translation of *Ab urbe condita libri*] aloud, to which lessons many other gentlemen attended. He had [Panormita] read other lessons from the sacred Scripture, and from the works of Seneca, and of philosophy. Little time was left to him that he did not spend worthily.[29]

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25 For a useful biographical profile of Valla's Neapolitan career, see Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 108–22.

26 Lorenzo Valla wrote the *De falso credita* while in the employ of Alfonso V of Aragon in the spring of 1440, a crucial time in the Aragonese king's battle against the papal choice for the Neapolitan crown, d'Anjou. For a modern edition and English translation of this text, see Valla, *On the Donation of Constantine*.

27 For a useful biographical profile of Panormita's Neapolitan career, see Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 84–100.

28 For more on the *Porticus Antoniona* and its development into the *Accademia Pontaniana*, see Santoro, "La cultura umanistica," 159–71. See also Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 1–3; and Furstenberg-Levi, *The Accademia Pontaniana*, 57–75. The activities of Giovanni Pontano and the *Accademia Pontaniana* and their relationship to sung lyric will be discussed in more detail below.

29 "Amava assai i literati, come è detto, e sempre, mentre che istava a Napoli, ogni dì si faceva leggere a messer Antonio Panormita le Deche di Livio, alle quali lezioni andavano molti signori. Facevasi leggere altre lezioni della santa Scrittura, ed opera di Seneca, e di filosofia. Poco tempo gli restava, ch'egli non lo consumasse degnamente." Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri*, 57–58. Bisticci's connection to Naples and Alfonso I, in particular, is largely due to his friendship with Manetti, who was at the Neapolitan court in precisely these years.

Here, while making sure to emphasize Alfonso's learned tastes and judicious use of time, Bisticci describes the literary soirees that Panormita often led in the royal library at the Castel Nuovo.[30] A staple of intellectual and courtly life during Alfonso's reign, these evenings typically emphasized, as Bisticci attests, the reading of Classical texts in political history and philosophy as well as the more moralizing lessons of sacred Scripture—a wholly appropriate reading list for a benevolent and pious ruler.[31] In attendance here and, starting as early as 1447, at the *Porticus Antoniona* held at Panormita's home were, very likely, the court's most prominent humanists and bureaucrats, all of whom were subject to Alfonso's substantial—if nonetheless Machiavellian—patronage. In fact, his patronage was so liberal and the propaganda surrounding it so effective that he became known throughout the Italian peninsula as *il magnanimo*—a moniker that was borne out by the numerous manuscripts and literary works that were dedicated to him by scholars hoping for a financial reward.[32]

Yet, while Alfonso *il magnanimo* demonstrated great enthusiasm for classical philology and other Latin writings, his interests did not extend quite as far in the production of Italian vernacular works. Upon his arrival in Naples, he imported a steady stream of Castilian and Catalan advisors, soldiers, poets, and musicians to his new court at the Castel Nuovoovo.[33] Surrounded by his countrymen and with little knowledge of Italian (whether it be the local Neapolitan or the increasingly influential Tuscan vernacular), the functional language of Alfonso's royal court in Naples became Castilian while the administrative language of the royal treasury, in particular, was Catalan.[34] Within this context, Latin was cultivated at court and abroad as a language of diplomacy and humanistic study, while the majority of vernacular court poetry came from Iberian-born poets, such as Juan de Tapia and

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30 Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 57; and Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 318. For more on Panormita's general campaign to cast Alfonso as a benevolent and learned ruler, see Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 306–57.

31 On the literary influences on humanists in southern Italy during this period, see Vallone, "Classicismo e umanesimo."

32 For more on the manuscripts and works dedicated to Alfonso and the types of compensation that their authors and compilers could expect, see Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 60–62.

33 Still relevant is the discussion of Alfonso's Spanish court in Croce, *La Spagna*, 33–54.

34 Although the crown of Aragon in this period is generally associated with the Catalan-speaking lands of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, Alfonso himself was born to a Castilian father (Fernando I of the House of Trastámara) and spent the formative years of his childhood and education at the court of Enrique III in Castile. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 1–17. Croce also makes this point in his discussion of Alfonso's Spanish court (Croce, *La Spagna*, 46), a point that Galasso repeats in his *Napoli capitale*, 67–68. On Catalan as the language of the treasury (largely due to the high number of Catalan-speaking personnel in that specific branch of the government's administration), see Senatore, "Cedole e cedole di tesoreria"; De Blasi, "Cenni sulla realtà linguistica," 119–20. The use of Catalan in documents of the treasury is also noted by Allan Atlas in his *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 9.

Carvajal.[35] Under such circumstances, local Neapolitan poets and singers received little, if any, encouragement from their king.[36] Yet, as we will see, the lack of interest in the Neapolitan vernacular coming from the royal court during Alfonso's reign in no way precluded the development of a Neapolitan lyric tradition at smaller feudal courts throughout the Kingdom.[37]

The king's musical patronage was also heavily weighted toward Latin-texted sacred repertories performed predominantly by Iberian singers and composers. As Atlas has demonstrated in his seminal *Music at the Aragonese Court*, Alfonso placed great emphasis on the size and quality of his court chapel, which was originally imported from Spain and subsequently dominated by Spaniards for the duration of his reign.[38] In contrast with Alfonso's penchant for hiring Burgundian and northern Italian artists, humanists, artisans, and craftsmen, Atlas argues that "the royal chapel was for Alfonso something different, something with which he had everyday contact on a personal basis, and something that throughout his reign would remain primarily Spanish in character, staffed mainly—and always at the upper ecclesiastical-administrative levels—by his compatriots, with whom he no doubt felt most comfortable."[39]

Whether this was a matter of personal preference or political opportunism in granting positions of wealth and power (in the form of ecclesiastical beneifices) to his compatriots, Alfonso's chapel was indeed a predominantly Spanish institution within the cosmopolitan royal court. The earliest surviving document attesting to the composition of Alfonso's chapel is a fragmentary payment record from 1441 that names seven chapel members: Mateu Tabaria, Gonsalvo de Cordova, Domenic Exarch, Ffarrando Suval, Miguel Nadal, Phelip Romeu, and, most significant in this context for his settings of two Neapolitan *barzellette*, the composer Pedro Oriola—all Spaniards who evidently accompanied the king in his travels as he vied for dominion over the Kingdom of Naples.[40] Once in control of

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35 The exact dates for both of these poets are uncertain, but their lyric works are preserved in two major fifteenth-century manuscript sources: MN54 (*Cancionero de Estuñiga*) and RC1 (*Cancionero de Roma*). Studies on these authors and their work at Naples include, Gargano, *Con accordato canto*; and Rovira, *Humanistas y poetas*.

36 See Gargano, *Con accordato canto*, 79–87. The effect of this type of patronage and the intermingling of Iberian- and Italian-vernacular poetry and song over the course of the Aragonese dynasty in Naples will be discussed in more detail in parts IV and V.

37 In particular, the Neapolitan lyric collection preserved in Paris 1035 seems to be, despite the manuscript's dating in the late 1460s, a retrospective compilation of lyric songs that were composed and performed regularly during Alfonso's reign. For more on this collection, see part IV.

38 Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, esp. 23–97.

39 Ibid., 38.

40 Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Tesoreria antica frammenti, st. 227, vol. VI; cited and summarized in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 24. This document is also published in its entirety in Mazzoleni, "Frammenti di cedole."

Naples, the first full roster of the chapel's personnel appears in a document from October 26, 1444, which lists fifteen adult members, at least twelve of which were Spaniards, as well as five unnamed boys.[41] The central importance of these singers in Alfonso's daily life is demonstrated by the fact that the king requested their presence even when he was engaged in other types of recreation outside Naples, as the same archival document from October 1444, summarized by Camillo Minieri Riccio, attests: "Maestro Jaume Borbò, singer in Alfonso's royal chapel and master of that chapel's five choirboys, departs with those pupils of his from the city of Naples and goes to Casal del Principe, where King Alfonso Is hunting."[42]

Furthermore, in the two subsequent rosters we have from 1451 and 1455, the chapel's Iberian-dominated composition is maintained, even as its personnel is increased to twenty-one and twenty-two singers, respectively, not including organists and boys.[43] Indeed, the king must have been invested in both the augmentation of chapel personnel and its continued Hispanic character during these years, as a document dated May 2, 1450, attests that the Catalan merchant Johan Canals, then residing in Naples, reimbursed the royal chapel's master of choirboys 960 ducats for his expenses during a recruitment trip to Spain.[44] By the 1450s, then, the Aragonese royal chapel in Naples seems to have been an impressive musical force that surpassed in size and, by some accounts, quality any other on the Italian peninsula—functioning as the ultimate marketing campaign for Alfonso *il magnanimo*'s image of piety and benevolence.[45] Indeed, as a manifestation of the king's pious devotion, the musical powers of the king's chapel choir were ultimately reflected in Panormita's encomiastic (and propagandistic) *De Dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum* (1455):

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41   The full roster is presented and summarized in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 29–30 as follows: Fra Jaume Albarells, Messer Fferrando Suval, Messer Gonsalvo Garzia, Messer Lambert, Frate Antonio, Messer Sancio Garzia, Pere Oriola, Messer Pascale, Jaume Santa, Gabriele Alegre, Giovanni Fenice, Jaume Sanya, Bartomeu Figueras, Fra Domenic Exarch ("locumtenens"), and Jaume Borbò ("master of the boys"). Atlas, in turn, draws upon previous publications of this document's contents in Minieri Riccio, "Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I," 245–46; Filangieri, *Documenti per la storia*, 5:62–63, which identifies the original document as "Ced. 8 di Tes., fol. 67."

42   "Maestro Giacomo Borbo cantore della reale Cappella di Alfonso e maestro di cinque donzelli cantori della cappella stessa, con que' suoi scolari parte dalla città di Napoli e si porta a Casal del Principe, dove re Alfonso sta alla caccia." Minieri Riccio, "Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I," 245.

43   These rosters, dated February 27, 1451, and November 8, 1455, are presented and summarized in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 31–36.

44   Barcelona, Archivio General de la Corona de Aragón, Real Patrimonio, Reg. 2940, fol. 94r; cited in Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 190.

45   Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 32–33. During the same years, as Atlas points out, the only comparable chapel in Italy was that of St. Peter's in Rome with eighteen singers. Otherwise, Alfonso's chapel equaled that of Philip the Good in Burgundy with twenty-one singers and was surpassed only by that of Henry VI in England, which included as many as thirty-six adults and ten boys.

> Whoever has fame in music throughout Europe is invited here with great recompense and every day in the church choir songs of praise to God and to the saints and the divine office are heard sung, slowly and with heart, if that aids in provoking love of God, [or] now excitedly to arouse and inflame [that love].[46]

A testament not only to the universal "fame" of Alfonso's singers but also to their effectiveness in inciting devotion through song, Panormita's words synthesize his patron's tastes and goals in financing and cultivating an impressive musical chapel that, outwardly, reflected an image of aesthetic grandeur and devout virtue at the same time that its internal Hispanic character spoke directly to the king's more private personal background.[47]

For this reason, beyond the chapel's regular sacred and liturgical duties in Naples, the king often utilized it for political and diplomatic purposes. In June 1451, for example, the chapel was sent to perform at the Cathedral and the Santissima Annunziata in Florence, where it acted not only as a symbol of the king's wealth and power, but also of his great piety and devotion.[48] This visit was especially important as a diplomatic mission, since, as Frank D'Accone has pointed out, Naples and Florence were on opposing sides of a war that seemed imminent in the early 1450s.[49] An invitation from Florence to host the king's carefully curated chapel acted as a meaningful olive branch at a particularly tense political moment. Indeed, a communication dated June 5, 1451 from the Florentine government to the humanist Giannozzo Manetti, its ambassador in Naples, demonstrates an eagerness to receive and honor the singers from Alfonso's impressive chapel:

> Nor shall we add anything else but that with great desire the people await those royal singers, the adornment of the solemnity of the Baptist and the happiness of our city, who, for many reasons and principally out of consideration for the prince whom they serve, will be most happily received by us.[50]

Further documents from the Santissima Annunziata attest that the Neapolitan singers were, indeed, "happily received" with a meal of eggplant, bread, fruit, and

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46 "Qui uero musica in tota Europa insignes habentur, ingenti mercede arcessuntur quotidieque in templi choro Dei ac sanctorum laudes diuinaque officia concinentes audiuntur, lenta et habentia corda, si qua adsunt, ad Dei amorem excitantes, excitata iam accedentes et inflammantes." Quoted from Beccadelli, *Dels fets e dits*, 252; also in D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 139.

47 The king's personal devotional practice is represented in the illuminated psalter and book of hours illuminated by Domenico and Leonardo Crespi between Valencia and Naples in the years leading up to his conquest of Naples (ca. 1437–43), currently held in London, British Library, Ms. Add. 28962. On this source, see Español, "El salterio y libro de horas"; and a brief discussion in D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 139–42.

48 Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 34; and D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 317–18.

49 D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 318. For more on the political tensions between Naples (allied with Venice) and Florence (allied with Milan) during this period, see Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 602–4.

50 Archival document quoted in D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 318.

wine and that the Mass they performed there was accompanied by none other than Antonio Squarcialupi's *organetto*, specially brought in for the occasion.[51] In the years leading up to the hard-fought Peace of Lodi in 1454, such a reception would have gone far to ease tensions and avoid unnecessary conflict with Alfonso, whose reputation must certainly have preceded him as *il magnanimo* and "Re di Guerra" in equal parts.[52]

Beyond Latin humanism and sacred musical devotion, life in Alfonso's Naples was also filled with a variety of secular music and dance, which were particularly prevalent during ceremonial and celebratory events both at court and throughout the city. Indeed, as the Catalan royal chaplain Melcior Miralles noted in his description of Naples's "gran maravella" from the mid-1450s, "there were so many types of sounds, minstrels, and chapel singers and so many types of celebrations that I neither know how to write nor speak [about them]."[53] Like Giovanni Antonio Petrucci's nostalgic lament for the Neapolitan entertainments he once enjoyed, Miralles's words present a varied picture of festive and musical activities, though in a decidedly more joyful, state-sanctioned tone.

Such musical *divertissements* were likely present in Neapolitan court culture from the earliest days of Alfonso's reign, as the king himself had employed a retinue of secular court musicians long before his arrival in Naples. In fact, in 1417 and only a year into his reign as king of Aragon, an archival document attests that the twenty-three-year-old Alfonso employed as many as fifteen instrumentalists playing a combination of wind, string, and percussion instruments, several of whom eventually followed their royal patron to Naples.[54] The symbolic and ceremonial role of instrumental music in representing the king's public image was reflected most prominently in the music during his spectacular triumphal entry into Naples on February 23, 1443 for which twelve royal trumpeters were hired to accompany the king on his "carro trionfale"—three carrying silk banners depicting the royal arms of Aragon, three those of Naples and Aragon, three those of Aragon and Sicily, and three the image of a castle against a white and vermillion background.[55]

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51   Archival documents dated June 19 and 21, 1451, respectively; quoted in D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 318.

52   On the Peace of Lodi and the difficulties of reaching such an agreement from the Neapolitan persective, see Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 605–7.

53   "hon avia moltes maneres de sons, menistrés, xantres e moltes maneres de festes, que no sé scriure ni dir." Miralles, *Crònica i dietari*, 212.

54   Barcelona, Archivio General de la Corona de Aragón, Real Patrimonio, Reg. 836; cited and transcribed in Anglés, *La música en la corte real*, 90–93, n. 17. See also, D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 144. On the instrumentalists employed by Alfonso before and after his conquest of Naples, see Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España*, 281–91.

55   Payments were made for the creation of these banners on March 2 of that year: "190 ducati, 2 tari, and 10 [bushels of] grain are to be paid for the expenditures and manufacture of 12 trumpet banners, made of silk taffeta with ribbons of gold and of deep red silk with their respective buttons

The musical presence of these trumpeters, as well as a host of *pifferi*, is described in Panormita's *Alphonsi regis Triumphus*[56] as part of the overwhelming din of noise during the event:

> But wherever the distinguished [Alfonso] was seen on [his] triumphal chariot, the din both of men standing by [along the route] and of women spectating from atop the roofs of their houses [was] so great and applause erupted such that neither the blare of the trumpeters nor the song of the *pifferi*—although these might be almost innumerable—[nor] anything else could be heard entirely in comparison with the noise of the exultant throngs.[57]

This chaotic mix of regal pomp and circumstance with the joyous cries of the king's new subjects throughout the city was followed, according to Panormita and other contemporary witnesses, by a number of other musical events.[58]

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and bows hanging from them. These 12 banners were consigned to 12 trumpeters of the king in service of the entrance that King Alfonso made into Naples upon the triumphal chariot. Of these 12 banners, three carried the royal arms of Aragon, three [carried] those of the Kingdom of Naples quartered with those of Aragon, and three the quartered arms of Aragon and Sicily, and the last three white and scarlet with the image of a castle" ("Si pagano ducati 190 tari 2 e grana 10 per le spese e fattura di 12 pennoni di trombette, di seta tercianella con cordoni di oro e di seta carmosina co' rispettivi bottoni e fiocchi pendent da' cordoni. Quali 12 pennoni furono consegnati a 12 trombettieri del re per servire alla entrata che re Alfonso fece in Napoli sul carro trionfale. Di questi 12 pennoni tre portavano le armi reali di Aragona, tre quelle del reame di Napoli inquartate colle Aragonesi, tre le armi inquartate di Aragona e di Sicilia e le ultime tre bianche e vermiglie con la figura di un castello"). Minieri Riccio, "Alcuni fatti di Alfonso I," 232–33. See also citations in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 98; D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 156.

56 Panormita's *Triumphus* (written ca. 1455) is preserved as a coda to his larger *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum* in the following manuscripts: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. V. F. 26; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1185, Urb. Lat. 1187, Vat. Lat. 1565, and Vat. Lat. 3373; Valencia, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València, Ms. 445; Huesca, Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Huesca, Ms. 106; and an unnumbered manuscript held at the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. In addition, a nearly contemporary translation in Catalan by Jorge Centelles is preserved in Barcelona, Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya, Ms. 1715, and a Castilian translation by Juan de Molina was published in Valencia in 1527 with the title *Dichos y hechos del rey don Alfonso V*. For more in-depth studies of two of these manuscript copies (those held in Valencia and Seville), see Capilla Aledón, "La conmemoración"; Vilaplana, "Notas sobre un manuscrito."

57 "Sed ubi eminens in curru visus est tantus et viror[um] astantiu[m] et mulierum supra tectis domor[um] spectantium clamor et plausus exortus est ut ne tubicinum clangor nec tibicinum cant[us] q[uam]q[uam] e[ss]ent hi prope innumerabiles prae clamore exultantium quicq[uam] omnino exaudiri possent." In the absence of an adequate modern edition of this text, I have chosen to quote directly from one of the digitally available manuscript copies: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1185, fol. 92v. Panormita's text is also reproduced nearly verbatim in De Tummulillis, *Notabilia temporum*, 45. See also discussion of this passage (and other similar descriptions) in D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 154–55.

58 Additional chronicles and historical descriptions of the king's triumphal entry are found in Ferraiolo, Marino Jonata (*El Giardeno*, 1465), Gaspare Pellegrino (*Historiarum Alphonsi primi regis*), Porcellio Pandone (*Triumphus Alfonsi Regis Aragonei devicta Neapoli*), among others.

The music of Alfonso's triumphal entry, documented in a number of contemporary chronicles and historical descriptions (including that of Panormita), has been discussed at length in Gianluca D'Agostino's recent essay "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," but a number of key moments from that august occasion bear repeating here as representative of the multifaceted secular music practices in Naples during Alfonso's reign.[59] Following the trumpeters and *pifferi* of the king's "carro trionfale," first, came a procession of clergy and chapel singers, perhaps from Alfonso's own chapel, performing sacred songs and hymns through the streets of Naples.[60] Next, came a series of parade floats representing various allegorical and theatrical scenes, called "varios ludos singulari" in Panormita's description.[61] And then, in a noteworthy example of dance and spectacle, came a costumed pantomime in which a group of Catalans dressed as heroic knights battled against exotic foot soldiers in Persian dress ("Contra hos pedites aderant ornatu persico").[62] In Panormita's description, the battle becomes a choreographed dance in which opposing groups of knights and foot soldiers face off to the accompaniment of song:

> First, the knights and the foot soldiers moved together nimbly in harmony and, with [great] rhythm, they danced in the style of a soldiers' circle dance. Then, with increasingly energetic song, they were both inflamed and embroiled in battle equally. And so, with the soldier's great battle-cry and with the great laughter of the onlookers, they fought for some time until the Spanish victors drove out, captured, [and] crushed every last one of the barbarians.[63]

As D'Agostino points out, this is surely an example of a "moresca" or a costumed theatrical dance that, as defined by Alan Brown and Donna Cardamone, often involved "a stylized battle between Moors and Christians, reminiscent of the medieval wars in Spain."[64] In this case, the circle dance of Christian knights and Moor-

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59   D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano." For a collection of some of the documents attesting to Alfonso's triumphal entry see also Nocilli, *Coreografare l'identità*, 241–48. On elements of performance and politics in similar festivals and triumphal entries throughout the Renaissance, see Mulryne and Goldring, *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance*, esp. chap. 13; Mulryne, Aliverti, and Testaverde, *Ceremonial Entries*; Bryant, *The King and the City*.

60   See sources attesting to this and a full account of the possible singers that could have been there (as well as what specific music they could have sung) in D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 161–66.

61   Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1185, fol. 93r.

62   Ibid., fol. 95v.

63   "Movebantur p[ri]mo una equites peditesq[ue] leviter ad armoniam et ad numeros chorizantium more saltabant. Deinde concitato sensim cantu et ipsi pariter inflamabantur praeliumq[ue] miscebant. Atqui ita magno militum clamore magnoq[ue] adstantium risu aliquandiu digladiabantur donec victores hyspani barbaros undeq[ua]q[ue] fugabant capiebant proterebant." Ibid., fols. 95v–96r. See also the discussion of Panormita's description in D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 167.

64   Brown and Cardamone, "Moresca"; D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 167.

ish foot soldiers ("chorizantium") begins "ad armoniam" but, influenced by the spirited (or agitated) sung accompaniment, gradually devolves into a chaotic battle scene, which encompassed its own quite different sound world. Again, like the regal entrance with trumpeters and *pifferi*, more conventional musical sounds are mixed with sounds that might typically be characterized as noise, whether they come from the urban masses or from a fictional battle in the course of a stylized dance, thus creating a confusing din of heterogeneous sounds.[65]

Immediately following this spectacle came another musical float. As if to rein in the chaotic and bellicose character of the preceding dance, this one transported four singers representing the allegorical figures of Magnanimity, Constancy, Clemency, and Liberality from atop a magnificently adorned tower:

> After these [spectacles], an enormous, amazingly decorated wooden tower was carried forth, the entrance of which [was] protected [by] a certain angel with a sword closely drawn. For, atop it [the tower] rode four virtues—Magnanimity, Constancy, Clemency, and Liberality—and these [virtues] brought themselves before the perilous seat—that well known emblem—of the king, *each one singing his song in well-ordered* [composed] *verses.*[66]

Addressing their king, identified by Panormita as "Alfonse Rex pacis," these four singers personified the most crucial virtues of a peaceful and benevolent leader, and thus acted as an early example of the king's humanistic self-fashioning. Furthermore, each one sings what seems to be a lyric song, very likely, in Latin verse.[67] This learned style of singing Latin verse, and indeed the specific act of singing it before King Alfonso *il magnanimo*, was one of a number of performance styles associated with members of Naples's intellectual elite. Such humanistic singers would

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65   This juxtaposition brings to mind certain passages parodying such events in Teofilo Folengo's macaronic mock epic *Baldus*. On this, Cattin, "Canti, canzoni a ballo e danze." See also my reference to Folengo in part IV.

66   "Post hos vehebatur lignea ingens turris mirifice ornata cuius aditum angelus quidam stricto ense custodiebat. Nam super ea vectabantur virtutes quatuor, Magnanimitas, Constantia, Clementia, Liberalitas, heeq[ue] sedem periculosam insigne illud regium prae se ferebant, *cantantes suam q[uae]q[ue] compositis versibus cantionem*." Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1185, fol. 96r (italics added); see also the same text in De Tummulillis, *Notabilia temporum*, 48. This particular portion of text is mentioned in a number of musicological studies, including Pope, "La musique espagnole," 38; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 98; D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 167–68.

67   Isabel Pope conjectures that this passage could be describing a performance of four-part polyphony, but as D'Agostino has pointed out, Panormita's wording here ("cantantes suam q[uae]q[ue] . . . cantionem") seems to be referencing individual songs performed by each singer. D'Agostino also posits that the verses themselves could have been similar to those written by Lorenzo Valla in honor of Alfonso's triumphal entry and appended to his polemic against Barolomeo Facio (*Antidotum in Facium*). Pope, "La musique espagnole," 38; D'Agostino, "La musica nel Trionfo napoletano," 167–68.

eventually come to congregate first in Panormita's *Porticus Antoniona* and later, after Panormita's death, in the *Accademia Pontaniana*.[68]

Alfonso's triumphal entry into the city of Naples in 1443 was an extraordinary occasion. A foreign king and his entourage encountered the Neapolitan nobility and populace in a celebratory spectacle that was commemorated by every chronicler, historian, and emissary fortunate enough to have witnessed it (as well as a few who did not). Recently, Antonietta Iacono has posited that the various elements of the procession were organized and programmed, in a sense, by Alfonso's two chief humanists—Panormita and Valla, who were both employed by Alfonso at the time and who both wrote detailed descriptions of the event.[69] Given the religious and classical symbolism inherent in the performances of the dance-battle scene and the singing virtues, to take just two examples, such a hypothesis seems quite reasonable. The events of the day would certainly have served as effective propaganda in portraying the new king (in reality, a foreign usurper) as "Pius Clemens Invictus," to take the words from his triumphal marble arch, at what must have been a moment of real concern for the local population.

Yet, despite their political role within what was a wholly exceptional celebration, the musical events of that day also represented the various types of secular music performed on a daily basis during Alfonso's reign. These included, among others, bands of wind instruments that played for ceremonial and civic events, a variety of dances in both large and small contexts, and humanistic sung lyric among groups of intellectual elites. Much like his support of humanistic letters and sacred music, then, Alfonso's secular music patronage was both personal and political. His employment of large numbers of instrumentalists, and in particular trumpeters and *pifferi*, can be traced to his early career in the Kingdom of Aragon; the prevalence of dance in court festivities was similarly linked to his Spanish roots; and the song performance of Latin humanists was intimately connected to his magnanimous patronage of intellectual advisors and historians, who would ultimately provide political cover for his more bellicose tendencies.

Within the chaotic aural soundscape of Alfonso's *trionfo* as well as in the quotidian lives of the Kingdom's inhabitants, these various types of music exemplify what Emma Dillon reminds us is "music's capacity to participate in a landscape of human experience, one not limited to the purely musical, but connected in various ways to a more worldly environment."[70] Indeed, Alfonso's "carro trionfale"—a source of triumphal music in and of itself—was also subject to the music and dance (and noise) of others as it traversed the city of Naples. The Neapolitan chronicler Ferraiolo attests:

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68   For more on this, see the discussion of the *Accademia Pontaniana* below.
69   Iacono, "Il trionfo di Alfonso d'Aragona."
70   Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, 6.

> That aforementioned triumphal chariot went forward fully adorned down to the ground in deep red velvet, and all the ladies of this realm went on foot ahead of that chariot throughout the city of Naples. And it entered through the entrance to the market, which took place on Tuesdays, and it encountered [each of] the *seggi* [the city's neighborhoods] with great jubilation of song and dance. And the whole city was decorated and clean.[71]

As the carefully curated triumphal procession made its way through the frenzied streets of Naples, filled with their own more commonplace popular music and dance, a clash of cultures and aesthetics—the first of many to come—was underway. The role (and significance) that these different types of music played within the Kingdom's various settings—court and civic, sacred and secular, urban and rural—will be a frequent point of reference in navigating the surviving sources and repertory of Neapolitan lyric song throughout this study.

Ferrante I: A New Kind of Patronage

Following his death on June 27, 1458, Alfonso's sprawling Kingdom of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples was broken up into two smaller dominions: the territories of Aragon and Sicily inherited by his brother Juan II (r. 1458–79),[72] and those of Naples inherited by his son Ferrante I (r. 1458–94). Once Ferrante I succeeded his father as king of Naples, the cultural (and political) clashes of imported and local communities, already present during Alfonso's reign, came into even starker relief.

As Duke of Calabria, Ferrante had been educated by two of Alfonso's chief humanists, Panormita and Bartolomeo Facio, and had been a frequent participant in the literary evenings held in the royal library.[73] Given this, many hoped that he would continue his father's great generosity in support of humanistic endeavors. In fact, the chief copyist of the royal library Giacomo Curlo expressed that hope explicitly in the epistolary prologue to his 1459 copy of Donatus's commentary on

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71 "Lo quale ditto carro trionfale andò tutto parato de villuto carmosino fino in terra, et tutte li s(igniure) de quisto riamo andavano a ppiede innante a ditto carro per tutta la città de Napole. Et intrao per la porta dello mercato, lo quale fo de martidì, et trasìo con gran triunfe de sune et ballare alli siege; et tutta la citate fo parata et scopata." New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M801, fol. 84v; edited text in Ferraiolo, *Cronaca*, 4.

72 Juan II was the father of Ferdinand II the Catholic, who ultimately united the Spanish kingdom in his marriage to Isabella I the Catholic (Queen of Castile). By 1504, the Catholic monarchs had reconquered Naples as a viceroyalty under the governance of King Ferdinand's general Gonsalvo de Córdoba—the first of a long line of viceroys who would control Naples for the next 200 years. On the viceroyalty in Naples, see Croce, *Storia del regno di Napoli*, 103–64; Galasso, *Napoli capitale*, 111–220; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 38–39; and the essays comprising the edited volume Astarita, *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*.

73 Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 64–65.

Terence dedicated to the new king: "In sum, may you emulate and also surpass your father Alfonso."[74] Yet, while he did value Alfonso's classical interests and continue to invest heavily in the staffing and curating of the royal library,[75] Ferrante's own preferences were more oriented toward the Italian vernacular, and his patronage reflected this.[76] In spite of his sophisticated humanistic training, Ferrante disliked reading Latin and often asked his court humanists (as well as, occasionally, those at other courts) to translate various texts into the vernacular.[77]

Among humanists in Naples, the commissioning of these translations took on a complicated cultural and political significance. Neapolitan humanist and chief royal librarian Giovanni Brancati, for example, was generally opposed to the vulgarization of classical Latin texts, but when pressed to do one, he makes clear that his vernacular of choice was a "mixed" version of the local Neapolitan rather than the increasingly widespread and influential Tuscan:

> I didn't even consider doing this translation in a language other than *our very own not quite Neapolitan but mixed*, in part because I judged this [our language] to be inferior to none other, and in part because I wished that this translation be useful to all, certainly, but principally to my fellow subjects, and above all to you, most unconquered King Ferrante, who—though familiar with all languages, as one reads about Alexander [the Great]—actually delights principally in this one, which you are continuously called upon to use.[78]

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74 "Alfonsum denique patrem tuum imitari atque etiam superari possis." Epistolary prologue in Giacomo Curlo, Epitome Donati in Terentium (Liverpool, University Library, Ms. fol. 3. 2); reproduced in an edited version in De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana: Supplemento*, 1:35–37 (at 37). See also discussion in Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 64–65.

75 Indeed, in his seminal study on the Aragonese royal library, Tammaro de Marinis presents a list of 142 manuscripts that are known to have been produced specifically for Ferrante. See De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, 1:39–83.

76 As Jerry H. Bentley argues, Ferrante's humanistic patronage differed from his father's in that he required his court humanists to produce works specifically in keeping with his own preferences and political agenda. In contrast, Alfonso Il magnanimo gave his humanists a certain level of freedom in choosing projects that appealed to them, even while they served political and diplomatic functions themselves. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 51–80.

77 The earliest known vernacular translation (or *volgarizzamento*) commissioned by Ferrante was an Italian version of Isocrates's Ad Nicoclem completed by his humanist tutor Bartolomeo Facio when he was still Duke of Calabria in 1444/45. Ibid., 69. For a recent study on the *volgarizzamenti* commissioned during Ferrante's reign, see Colluccia, "Napoli aragonese."

78 "Non ho anche curato far la medesma traductione in altro linguagio che in *lo nostro medesmo non pur napolitano ma misto*, parte perché ò iudicato questo ad nesun altro esser inferiore, parte perché ho voluto la medesma traductione sia utile ad tucti certo, ma principalmente a li mei conregnicoli, e sopra ad tucti ad te, invictissimo re Ferrando qual, benché tucte lingue habie familiare, come se lege de Alexandro, nientedimeno de questa principalmente te dilecti, qual te bisogna de continuo usare." Plinio Secondo, *La Storia Naturale*, 1:12 (italics added). See also the discussion in Colluccia, "Napoli aragonese," 99.

Here, in the dedicatory preface to his vernacular translation of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (ca. 1476–81), Brancati provides a telling rationale for his linguistic choice. He writes in a language, identified as "lo nostro medesmo" ("our very own"), that is "not quite Neapolitan but mixed" for two reasons: first, because he judges the quality of this courtly linguistic fusion to be equal to that of any other Italian vernacular; and second, because he wants his translation to be of use, specifically, to his "fellow subjects" throughout the Kingdom of Naples and, in particular, to his patron the "invictissimo re Ferrando," who prefers this language—the one he uses most—above any other. In short, in a court setting that was once dominated politically and linguistically by Iberian and northern Italian functionaries, Brancati boldly asserts the value and significance of a new "mixed" vernacular that is both uniquely Neapolitan and purposefully universal in its comprehensibility. Moroever, as literary historian Chiara Colluccia explains, in part as a response to Cristoforo Landino's 1475 translation of Pliny (also commissioned by Ferrante), "the southern [*meridionale*] Brancati radically refutes the ideal beauty and supremacy of the Tuscan vernacular."[79]

As a native of Policastro in the province of Principato Citra,[80] Brancati showcased in his translation a specifically *meridionale* brand of humanism, one that could not have existed during the reign of Alfonso I. Over the course of his career as court humanist and chief librarian to Ferrante, he would complete several other Neapolitan *volgarizzamenti*, as would a number of his learned "conregnicoli": Giovanni Albino (born in Lucania, province of Basilicata), Francesco del Tuppo (born in the city of Naples, *seggio di Porto*), Gianmarco Cinico (born in Parma, early career in Florence), Giuniano Maio (born in the city of Naples, *seggio di Montagna*), Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro[81] (born in Naples, *seggio di Porto*), and Paride Del Pozzo (born in Castellammare di Stabia, province of Terra di Lavoro).[82] The mix of backgrounds within this group of humanists—from urban Neapolitan nobility to those from the Kingdom's provinces to those born and trained outside the Kingdom altogether—is representative of the larger community of humanist-minded scholars, advisors, and functionaries that populated the capital city of Naples during Ferrante's reign. Within this varied context, the cultivation of Italian vernacular

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79 "Il meridionale Brancati rifiuta radicalmente la venustà e la supremazia del toscano." Colluccia, "Napoli aragonese," 91.

80 I would note also that this is the region controlled by Antonello and Giovanni Antonio de Petruciis, who were both humanists and court functionaries themselves before they conspired against the king in the famous *congiura dei baroni* of 1485 and were later put to death in 1486.

81 Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro is of particular interest in this study for his role as one of the most prominent Neapolitan lyric poets of the period. For more on De Jennaro, see below and see also the discussion of Paris 1035 in part IV.

82 Colluccia, "Napoli aragonese," 93–94. For biographical profiles on each of these men, see their individual entries in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*.

poetry and song, much of which engaged directly and deliberately with Neapolitan dialecticism, would gradually become more prominent within literary circles throughout the Kingdom—a prominence that is attested by the extant music and literary manuscript sources, preserving the Neapolitan lyric repertory, that were produced between the late-1460s and 1490s.

This new emphasis on local culture stemmed in part from Ferrante's political standing within Naples as the illegitimate son of a foreign conqueror. Though Ferrante was born in Aragon, he had spent the majority of his life in Naples as the Duke of Calabria, and unlike his father, he spoke (and, Brancati claimed, preferred to speak) the courtly version of Neapolitan vernacular identified by Brancati as "lo nostro medesmo non pur napolitano ma misto" and often referred to in modern scholarship as the "koiné napoletana" or "napoletano misto."[83] His long-time connection to Naples was not enough to win him favor, however; and he struggled to retain his crown for seven years against the opposition of both local and foreign powers. Despite his father's efforts to secure his legitimate succession to the throne, Ferrante was besieged by two competing foreign powers for over half a decade—his cousin Carlos de Navarra (prince of Viana and son of Alfonso's brother Juan II) and Jean d'Anjou (son of René), who were both in league with the more disillusioned (and disenfranchised) members of the Kingdom's feudal aristocracy. The long and arduous fight to retain power over the kingdom involved almost every province (with the exception of the Terra di Lavoro) and, as Ferrante struggled against each new threat, Naples returned to a familiar state of chaos and unrest, as Guido D'Agostino's vivid summary of events makes clear:

> From the revolt fomented by Centelles in Calabria, harshly suppressed through Ferrante's personal intervention, to the attempted invasion of Jean d'Anjou, war in the Kingdom went on in the meantime extending itself inexorably. The principal instigators, Marzano and Orsini, inspired a chain of rebellions of barons and lands against Ferrante. And, in their wake, lunged Jean [d'Anjou] under whose banner went the Caracciolo of Melfi, Avellino, and Santobuono, the Cantelmo of Sora, the Caldora, Carlo di Sangro lord of Torremaggiore, and Cola di Monforte count of Campobasso, in addition to numerous Pugliese and Calabrese cities. At that point, there was practically no province that was not embroiled in conflict, and for the politically isolated Ferrante, there was essentially nothing left but the support of the

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83   The term "napoletano misto," as Colluccia justly points out, is not an exact historical term, but rather a scholarly paraphrase of Brancati's description in his prefatory dedication to the translation of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*. This term has become especially popular following Salvatore Gentile's criticial edition of that work, Plinio Secondo, *La Storia Naturale*. See Colluccia, "Napoli aragonese," 99. Most serious scholarly investigations of what has been commonly referred to as "napoletano misto," rather, use the term "koiné napoletana." On the "koiné napoletana," see in particular Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 9–11; and the more recent in-depth study by Vàrvaro, "*Koinè* nell'Italia meridionale."

minor baronage of the Terra di Lavoro and the strongholds of Naples, Capua, and a few other centers.[84]

Once he finally regained control of the kingdom in the mid 1460s, an embittered King Ferrante I set out to strengthen the monarchy by shifting focus in both politics and patronage from the recruitment of foreign humanists (espoused by his father) to the creation of solid ties with the Neopolitan aristocracy.

He achieved this in two main ways: first, he sought to connect the Kingdom's local aristocrats more closely with the largely foreign royal administration either by employing them directly, as in the case of Giovanni Brancati and others, or by joining them together through marriage;[85] and second, he supported the creation of two separate Aragonese courts in the city of Naples itself (the Castel Nuovo and the Castel Capuano), which expanded the reach of the royal family while simultaneously allowing more of the local aristocracy to be incorporated into its political and artistic life.[86] Ferrante himself had exemplified his strategy of foreign-Neapolitan intermarriage early on in his father's reign by marrying Isabella di Chiaromonte—niece of Giovanni Antonio del Balzo Orsini, the Prince of Taranto and the most powerful of the landowning Neapolitan barons—in May 1445.[87] In another significant example, Ferrante's chief humanist and advisor Giovanni Pontano (originally from Umbria) married Adriana Sassone—member of Naples's urban aristocracy whose family belonged to the *seggio di Portanova*—on February 1, 1461.[88] As Matteo Soranzo has argued, "the union of Pontano and Adriana Sassone symbolically epitomized Ferrante's attempt to cement his hold over his Neapolitan subjects through an alliance between the royal administration and the urban aristocracy."[89] Ferrante rewarded this symbolic union, first, in 1469 by furnishing

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84 "Dalla rivolta fomentata in Calabria dal Centelles, duramente repressa con l'intervento personale di Ferrante, alla tentata invasione di Giovanni d'Angiò, la guerra nel Regno andava intanto estendendosi inarrestabilmente. I principali animatori, il Marzano e l'Orsini, suscitavano contro Ferrante la ribellione, a catena, di baroni e di terre e si tiravano, nella loro scia, Giovanni, sotto le insegne del quale passarono i Caracciolo di Melfi, di Avellino e di Santobuono, i Cantelmo di Sora, i Caldora, Carlo di Sangro signore di Torremaggiore, Cola di Monforte conte di Campobasso, oltre a numerose città pugliesi e calabresi. Ormai non v'era praticamente alcuna provincia che non fosse coinvolta nel conflitto, ed a Ferrante, politicamente isolato, non restava in sostanza che l'appoggio del baronaggio minore di Terra di Lavoro ed i capisaldi di Napoli, Capua e pochi altri centri." D'Agostino, *La capitale ambigua*, 29.

85 On the politics and uses of marriage in the Neapolitan *seggi* prior to Ferrante's reign, see Vitale, *Élite burocratica e famiglia*, 92–107.

86 The activities at the ducal court of the Castel Capuano, and their particular connection to the patronage of the Duchess of Calabria Ippolita Sforza, will be discussed further below.

87 Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 23.

88 Little is known about the Sassone family beyond the noteworthy marriage of Adriana to Giovanni Pontano, but the family clearly belonged to the *seggio di Portanova* (interestingly, the same *seggio* to which Iacopo Sannazaro belonged) long before the Aragonese dynasty came to power in Naples, as indicated in the explanatory note provided in Colangelo, *Vita di Giovano Pontano*, 85–86, n. 2.

89 Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 49.

Pontano with a prominent house in the heart of Naples and, then, in 1471 by granting him Neapolitan citizenship.[90] A historic palace situated at the intersection of ancient city's main crossroad and distinguished by its adjoining eleventh-century tower (known as the *Torre ad Arco*), Pontano's home would ultimately become a cultural nexus of humanism and artistic patronage as the central meeting place of the *Accademia Pontaniana*, as well as a successful point of connection between the city's longstanding urban aristocracy and its relatively new class of foreign-born royal functionaries and advisors.[91] A cornerstone of Ferrante's new policy, this connection represented an effort to redefine what it meant to be Neapolitan—an effort that culminated in the 1479 royal issuance of the *De Immunitate Neapolitanorum*.[92] In this new rule, Ferrante synthesized the two interconnected ways in which foreigners living in the Kingdom's capital could become Neapolitan citizens: first, by marrying a Neapolitan woman; and second, by either acquiring or building a home in the city of the Naples. As in the case of Pontano, the two methods ultimately went hand-in-hand, thus solidifying the prominent role given to marriage (and thus permanent familial ties) in the acquisition of citizenship, known as the *ductio uxoris*.[93]

Another key piece in Ferrante's strategy to incorporate the local nobility into the Kingdom's administration was the reestablishment of the Neapolitan *Studio* (or university) in 1465. The *Studio*'s main curriculum emphasized legal education, which was intended to groom a new generation of royal bureaucrats. The Kingdom's chief humanists also taught (and studied) other subjects there, including rhetoric and poetry—an essential background for any effective member of the royal administration.[94] In supporting these activities, Guido D'Agostino has explained, Ferrante treated the *Studio* as a "state institution, a nearly singular formative center for the *intellighenzia* of Naples and of southern Italy in general."[95] In fact, by 1478 he began to exert even greater control over the *Studio*'s governance by supervising those who were teaching and approving the subjects they offered on an annual basis.[96] Through both social and educational reform, then, Ferrante made

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90   Pèrcopo, *Vita di Giovanni Pontano*, 25–27. See also the discussion in Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 48–49.

91   On Pontano's renovations and artistic patronage at his home in Naples (as well as in other properties), see Divitiis, "Giovanni Pontano." See also the discussion in Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 50–51.

92   D'Agostino, *La capitale ambigua*, 43; on the relationship between this rule and poetic identity in Aragonese Naples, see Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 48–50.

93   Ibid., 49.

94   D'Agostino, *La capitale ambigua*, 43; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 67–68; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 9. On the Neapolitan Studio more generally, see Santoro, "La cultura umanistica"; as well as Cannavale, *Lo Studio di Napoli*; De Frede, *I lettori di umanità*.

95   "istituzione di stato, centro praticamente unico di formazione per l'intellighenzia napoletana e meridionale in genere." D'Agostino, *La capitale ambigua*, 43.

96   Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 77.

a concerted effort to invest in and involve the local nobility. In many ways, this was a success. More and more Neapolitans and southern Italians—such as those addressed in Giovanni Antonio de Petruciis's sonnet discussed at the opening of this chapter—became court humanists and advisors, librarians, copyists, and royal functionaries. Alongside these more practical tasks, they also took part in a variety of festive, artistic, and intellectual activities, such as dance, song, banquets, spectacles, and scholarly debate. Within this context, Ferrante's emphasis on the "mixed" Neapolitan vernacular created a more welcoming linguistic and cultural environment in Naples itself and throughout the Kingdom, ultimately fostering a more well-defined and culturally prominent practice of composing and performing Italian lyric poetry and song.

Musical Patronage in Ferrante's Naples

Another significant way in which Ferrante's patronage diverged from his father's was in the musical chapel. As with his patronage of the literary arts, support for the musical chapel was maintained at a modest level during the tumultuous early years of Ferrante's reign. Once he had finally reestablished his power in the late 1460s, King Ferrante enhanced his father's already impressive chapel, which employed mostly Spanish-born singers, with the addition of Franco-Flemish musicians and theorists.[97] With the Kingdom of Naples now separated from Aragon and Sicily, the new king followed the lead of (and competed vigorously with) other Italian courts in his avid recruitment of musicians from the north.[98]

One major alliance, and point of influence, with the north developed from the marriage of Ferrante's son Alfonso II, Duke of Calabria, to Ippolita Sforza, daughter of the Duke of Milan, in 1465. This union brought about a vibrant cultural exchange that came to influence both sacred and secular music-making, and especially dance, in late-Quattrocento Naples. In the early years following Alfonso's marriage to Ippolita, there were in fact several instances in which chapel musicians from Naples were transferred to Milan for diplomatic purposes,[99] and indeed, in 1465—the same year that Ippolita and Alfonso were married—King Ferrante also borrowed the dancing master Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro (by then, known by his Christian name Giovanni Ambrosio) from the service of Ippolita's parents for the purpose of teaching his daughters Eleonora and Beatrice the Lombard style of dance.[100] One

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97 The most prominent of these was undoubtedly Johannes Tinctoris, who came to Naples sometime in the early 1470s. See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 43.

98 For a detailed overview of Ferrante's patronage of the royal musical chapel, see ibid., 38–57.

99 Ibid., 40–41.

100 As will be discussed below, Ippolita was herself a skilled and renowned dancer, and she continued practicing this art while in Naples from 1465 to the time of her death in 1488. Perhaps, then,

tangible piece of evidence for these musical connections between north and south is the mid-1460s manuscript Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, Ms. IV.a.24—a layered Milanese-Neapolitan composite, which originated in Milan and was completed in Naples.[101] Preserving a substantial corpus of predominantly French-texted songs (interspersed with a smattering of others set to Italian, Spanish, and German texts), this manuscript remains the earliest extant collection of polyphony connected to the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples.[102]

The earliest documents to mention northerners employed in the musical chapel come from 1466,[103] and by 1469 several more followed.[104] It is not until the early 1470s, however, that we find a clear indication of Ferrante's recruitment practices north of the Alps. In a letter dated May 27, 1471, the Franco-Flemish singer Filippet Dortenche writes to Lorenzo de' Medici, evidently his former employer, of his work recruiting singers in France on behalf of King Ferrante:

> these few lines are to let you know that this year His Majesty the King sent me to France in order to bring some singers back here [to Naples]. In doing so I passed by your city but having been ordered not to speak a word of it to you and not wanting to disobey, I passed outside and went thus to fulfill the King's wishes. Later I returned but I was little rewarded for my services. This King nevertheless granted me X gold ducats a month, 5 lengths of fine material for clothing, and thirdly XX ducats . . . [illegible] a year, besides which he gave me a captaincy in Calabria for one year from which I draw 50 ducats, and [he did] all [this] most graciously.[105]

As Atlas has aptly pointed out, this letter reveals a great deal about Ferrante's approach to musical patronage, which was saturated with a fierce competitiveness that often manifested itself in secrecy and intrigue.[106] As a "chantore dela Maestà

Ferrante's choice to bring Guglielmo Ebreo to Naples was, in some part, influenced by Ippolita's arrival. For more on this, see below.

101 Slavin, "On the Origins of Escorial."

102 For more on this manuscript, its compilation, and its connections to both Naples and Milan, see my discussion below, as well as a brief discussion in the introduction to part III.

103 Atlas lists these men as "Fra Thomas de Alamanya" (possibly identifiable as the Dominican "frare Thomas de Cayre del orde de sanct Domingo," who also worked as a chapel scribe and copied a missal for Ippolita Sforza in 1474—see De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, 2:247, 249, and 262) and "Ffelippo de Burgunya" (possibly identifiable as Filippet Dortenche). See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 39. The original documents mentioning both men are found in the Neapolitan *Cedole di tesoreria*, edited and published in De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, 2:247.

104 These include the composer Vincenet, as well as the singer Antonio Ponzo (who Atlas identifies as a "Frenchman"). See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 40–41.

105 Both an English translation and the original Italian of the full letter is provided in D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 325 and 354, respectively. A condensed passage from this letter is also provided in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 40.

106 Ibid.

del S. Re Ferando i' Napoli,"[107] Dortenche discloses to Lorenzo—one of Ferrante's main competitors—a number of the king's secrets in the hope of finding a new position in Florence (at the behest of his Florentine wife).[108] In so doing, he testifies not only to his current employer's robust, yet furtive efforts to recruit singers from France, but also to the types of compensation offered to his chapel musicians for their work. Ranging from a steady monthly salary to fine clothing to a lucrative captaincy in one of the kingdom's provinces, it would appear that the potential earnings available to Ferrante's singers could be substantial. No doubt the king used these resources to compete for musical talent, and to some extent he was successful.

By the 1470s to 1480s, Ferrante's chapel came to employ a sizable group of Franco-Flemish musicians, including (but not limited to) Johannes Tinctoris, Johannes Vincenet, Jacobus Villette, Johannes Cordier, and Filippet Dortenche.[109] The incorporation of this new musical talent within what was still a predominantly Spanish musical chapel coincides with the purchase or production of numerous musical and liturgical manuscripts, a number of which were copied by the musicians themselves.[110] This level of book production and acquisition seems to have waned toward the end of Ferrante's reign, but he nonetheless continued to maintain his recruitment efforts until the time of his death in 1494.[111] In a letter dated October 15, 1487, for example, he requested that Tinctoris "go across the mountains to France and to any other region, country, or place" where he might find "some good singer, of the type and register" required "for the rendering of the divine service."[112] Furthermore, in 1492 to 1493, Ferrante used every resource at his disposal to persuade Alexander Agricola to take up a position in the royal chapel, even going so far as to offer him an impressive annual salary of 300 gold ducats per year.[113] At the height of these efforts, Agricola spent several months in Naples from May to June

107 Letter reproduced in D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni," 354.

108 The letter continues: "But since my wife is desirous of returning to her native city and nags me [about it] every hour of the day, I would for this reason be happy to return there." Ibid., 325. It does not seem that Dortenche was successful in this venture, as his name still appears on a roster of the Neapolitan musical chapel in 1480. See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 40 and 46.

109 See discussion and documentation cited in ibid., 40–46.

110 At least thirty such manuscripts were purchased or compiled between 1465 and 1488, and this activity is especially concentrated in the late 1460s precisely when Ferrante was working to build up the chapel's composition (and, likely, reputation). For a full list of music and liturgical manuscripts acquired for the use of the royal chapel, see ibid., 115–16.

111 Only six books were purchased or compiled between 1482 and 1492. See ibid., 116.

112 The translated excerpts provided here are drawn from ibid., 73. The original letter penned in Italian by the humanist and royal secretary Giovanni Pontano is reproduced in full in Volpicella, *Regis Ferdinandi*, 168; Van der Straeten, *La Musique au Pays-Bas*, 4:57; and Woodley, "Iohannes Tinctoris," 245.

113 A similar salary was also given to the Spanish chapel singer-composer Juan Cornago, so it appears as though this amount would have been the maximum possible allowed a musician of Agricola's stature. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 37, 84–85. See also Atlas, "Alexander Agricola."

1492, and Ferrante continued to pursue him after he left through the beginning of the year following. Ultimately, the king was unsuccessful in his endeavor to retain Agricola's services due to the strained political relations and imminent war with France,[114] but—given this example as well as others—one cannot deny Ferrante's fervent and consistent investment in the musical chapel over the course of his reign.

Nor did this investment go unnoticed. Indeed, under Ferrante's patronage, musical life in Naples flourished to such a degree that it was memorialized as a model of excellence nearly twenty years after his death. In the words of the humanist poet-improviser Raffaele Brandolini (*De musica et poetica*, 1513):[115]

> Ferdinand, moreover, who inherited the Kingdom of Naples from Alfonso his father and reigned for some thirty-six peaceful years, so zealously pursued the discipline of music both publicly and privately that not only did he often practice it himself during his leisure time, but used great rewards to call to his court from all over Europe those most learned in the discipline and the most skillful makers of instruments. Indeed, he used to have (as everyone knows) a very flourishing highly-selected throng of singers from France, England, Spain, and Germany, assigned solely to engage in divine services and praises. At Naples he had in the chapel, which can be seen in the atrium of the new castle,[116] two organs, not identical, yet sweetly harmonious. They were as much a delight to see as to hear, and could please the eye and ear of the strictest judge due to the excellence of their workmanship and the sweetness of their harmony.[117]

Dedicated to Giovanni de' Medici (who was to become Pope Leo X in 1513), Brandolini's Latin oration *De musica et poetica* addresses the richness of both public and private musical life in Ferrante's Naples, and in particular Ferrante's direct patronage of the musical chapel, with a carefully curated combination of intense admiration and nostalgia. Of course, such discourse from a professional orator like Brandolini has clear ulterior motives. By upholding Ferrante's patronage as an emblem of variety and wonder, he creates a hyperbolic model of regal musical sophistication to which his employer's family (the Medici) might be compared. Yet, having spent his formative years in Naples during the height of Ferrante's reign, his first-hand testimony also confirms what archival and epistolary evidence also suggests: that

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114   In three letters from June, August, and September 1493, Ferrante writes to his ambassador at the French court Giovanni Battista Coppola asking him to inform Agricola that he is no longer needed in Naples due to the political situation in Italy. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 85–86.

115   Raffaele and his brother Aurelio were both born in Florence and later spent their formative years in Naples under the influence of Giovanni Pontano and his academy. On Raffaele Brandolini and his more well-known brother Aurelio (both of whom were known as "Lippus" for their famed blindness) see the introduction of Ann Moyer's translation of *De musica et poetica*: Brandolini, *On Music and Poetry*, vii–xxxv. See also Ballistreri, "BRANDOLINI"; and the discussion of both Brandolini brothers in Gallo, *Musica nel castello*, 95–140.

116   This is certainly a reference to the Castel Nuovo.

117   Brandolini, *On Music and Poetry*, 18–19 (facing page Latin-English translation).

great lengths were taken by the king to cultivate an increasingly competitive and internationally focused royal musical chapel. In this endeavor, Brandolini claims that his employer's father, the lowly banker Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence, had been "[Ferrante's] emulator"[118]—thus reaching a level of sophistication that was almost equal to that of the only King residing in the Italian peninsula in the late fifteenth century.

To complement his image of Ferrante's ambitious program in the more "public" sphere of sacred music-making, Brandolini's oration goes on to illustrate the King's equally enthusiastic engagement with the "private practices" of secular chamber music:

> For in addition to his many domestic servants whom he called chamber musicians[119] for their private comforts and charms of voices and strings, he had a certain hall not far from his chambers, highly decorated with painting and sculpture, to which he retired secretly; it lacked no musical instrument that could be sounded by hand, plectrum, or mouth. There were, in fact, pipes made of cane, cloth, boxwood, reed, and marble (which is wondrous to tell). There were also other stringed instruments, on which I will not dwell any longer, since I can hardly find words fit to describe them and I cannot recall the memory of that most honorable enjoyment, now lost forever, without the utmost sadness.[120]

It is telling that Brandolini would describe the "private comforts and charms of voices and strings" in this way, as he himself could very likely have been a performer in such a context. Indeed, as I will discuss below, the highly ornate private hall wherein the king enjoyed these delights was just one of many spaces in late-Quattrocento Naples that would have hosted the performance of vernacular lyric song to the accompaniment of the lyre.[121] Moreover, the variety and quality of the instruments held in Ferrante's music room, as described by Brandolini, hint at connections to two of Naples's most illustrious cultural figures of the day. The first is Iacopo Sannazaro, who, as I discussed in part I, juxtaposes the sweet sounds of the "waxed reeds of shepherds . . . among the flowered valleys" with those of the "elegant and precious boxwood of musicians in opulent rooms."[122] Providing the perfect counterpoint for Sannazaro's aesthetic dichotomy between nature and artifice, could King Ferrante's private hall of instruments not be one such "opulent room"?

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118 Ibid., 20–21.

119 For more on the established group of chamber musicians known to have worked in Naples during the Aragonese dynasty, see Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 104–10.

120 Ibid., 18–21.

121 Other possibilities included the princely court at the Castel Capuano (under the patronage of Ippolita Sforza, especially), the meetings of the *Accademia Pontaniana* (in various locations), and various smaller aristocratic and feudal courts throughout the Kingdom. See below.

122 See the opening of part I.

The second is the composer and music theorist Tinctoris, whose early-1480s fragmentary treatise *De inventione et usu musicae* presents a broad taxonomy of stringed and wind instruments couched within a humanistic narrative of evolution from those of classical antiquity: the *lyra* and the *tibia*, respectively.[123] Among the descendants of the *lyra*, for example, Tinctoris lists and describes the "viola," the "rebec," the "gittern," the "cittern," and the "tambura"—as well as what he classifies as the more common term for the *lyra*, the "lute"—specifying not only the distinguishing physical features of the various instruments, but also their geographical origins and uses.[124] Similarly, from the *tibia* have come a variety of pipes—such as the "shawm" and the "dolzaina"—now made from boxwood and cane, rather than the "shin-bones of stags and young mules" as in antiquity.[125] Thus illustrating the variety of stringed and wind instruments hinted at in Brandolini's nostalgic recounting of Ferrante's patronage, Tinctoris's organology reveals the depth of his experience in Neapolitan musical life. He names famous lutenists of the day, including Pietrobono de Burzellis who is known to have visited Naples in 1473 as part of the Ferrarese delegation sent to escort Ferrante's daughter Eleonora to her wedding to Ercole d'Este;[126] he specifies common practices related to specific instruments, such as the possibility of playing full polyphonic songs with a consort of shawms (due to their similarity to the human voice) or the frequent use of the gittern by Catalan women singing love songs (rarely heard in other contexts, due to its "thin sound"); and he even mentions the contemporary historical event of the Battle of Otranto, led by Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, after which the captured Turkish prisoners were allowed to play songs to their own stringed "tambura."[127]

Part humanistic, part practical, the discursive lens taken in *De inventione et usu musicae* is peppered with contemporary musical and historical references, and thus sheds light on the multifaceted Neapolitan career of Tinctoris himself. According to a 1495 biographical notice by the humanist Johannes Trithemius, Tinctoris was "formerly archchaplain and singer of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand" ("regis ferdinandi neapolitani quondam archicapellanus et cantor")—a dual role that balanced teaching and performing responsibilities.[128] Although Ronald Woodley and

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123 Until recently, the most complete edition of this treatise was Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris*. In 2015, however, a new digital edition and translation by Jeffrey J. Dean was published as part of the Tinctoris Project Online: Tinctoris, *De inventione et usu musice* (hereafter all quotations of and references to this treatise are drawn from Dean's digital edition and translation). See also Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments"; Woodley, "The Printing and Scope."

124 Tinctoris, *De inventione et usu musice*, IV.iv.

125 Ibid., III.viii.

126 On Pietrobono's visit to Naples, see Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 108–9.

127 Tinctoris, *De inventione et usu musice*, IV.v.

128 Trithemius, *Cathalogus illustrium*, fol. lxxiiiv. See the full reproduction of the biographical notices pertaining to Tinctoris by Trithemius in Woodley, "Iohannes Tinctoris," 247; and an English translation of this particular notice in Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 138.

Allan Atlas have both expressed doubt over the accuracy of this characterization of Tinctoris as "archicapellanus," Evan MacCarthy has recently argued that, given Trithemius's reliability in other aspects of Tinctoris's biography, his claim is not wholly without merit.[129] Had he indeed been the "archicapellanus," as Trithemius says, any time after 1478 (MacCarthy suggests sometime between 1481 and 1488), he would also have acted as the formal head of the Neapolitan *Studio* in direct control of teaching rosters and subject offerings.[130] Lacking further evidence, we cannot know with certainty if he held this position, but his expertise in music, law, and mathematics, as well as his work as a teacher with connections to the *Studio* at Naples is indisputable.[131] In fact, as MacCarthy has addressed in detail, in addition to his role as a chapel singer in Aragonese Naples, Tinctoris also identified himself as "[musice] artis professor minimus," who worked "inter musice professores minimus" and "inter legum artiumque mathematicarum professores minimus," in the prefaces to his treatises *Liber imperfectionum notarum musicalium*, *Expositio manus*, and *Complexus effectuum musices*, respectively.[132] Thus situating his professional identity, as both a musician and teacher, squarely within the study of the liberal arts, his time in Naples was filled by a variety of occupations: he worked as a teacher, a translator, a recruiter of singers from northern Europe, a writer of treatises (and letters), and, in a special role, as a tutor to Ferrante's daughter Beatrice.[133]

This mix of artistic, diplomatic, administrative, and pedagogical duties is perhaps most striking for its similarity to the professional lives of some of Ferrante's highest-ranking court humanists, such as Giovanni Pontano and Iacopo Sannazaro. Along with the king's steady investment in the musical arts, not to mention his decision to entrust the governance of the *Studio* to the royal chaplain, this type of high profile musical-political career would have—to a certain extent—placed a figure like Tinctoris on a more level playing field with some of the most illustrious intellectuals in Naples. It is, perhaps, for this reason that—as MacCarthy has demonstrated—Tinctoris was influenced by and sought to emu-

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129   Woodley, "Iohannes Tinctoris," 233; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 75; MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*," 50–51.

130   From 1465 to 1478, a professor from the *Studio* would have been appointed to act as rector, but starting in 1478 Ferrante changed this practice, making the chaplain of the royal chapel responsible for the Studio's governance. MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*," 50. See also Grendler, *The Universities*, 44; D'Agostino, "La musica, la cappella," 163–64.

131   Trithemius calls him "doctor vtriusque iuris" as well as "vir vndecumque doctissimus: maximus mathematicus. summus musicus: ingenio subtilis. eloquio disertus" ("doctor of both laws [canon and civil]" and "a man very learned in all respects, an outstanding mathematician, a musician of the highest rank, of a keen mind, skilled in eloquence"). See Woodley, "Iohannes Tinctoris," 247; Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 138.

132   All three treatises are found in Tinctoris, *Opera theoretica*. In addition, improved editions of the *Liber imperfectionum* and *Expositio manus* are available as part of the Tinctoris Project Online: Woodley, Dean, and Lewis, "Johannes Tinctoris."

133   MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*," 50–53.

late the "Neapolitan *eruditi*" of the *Accademia Pontaniana* in his writings.[134] Indeed, nowhere are his humanistic aspirations, as well as his connections to members of the *Accademia*, more strongly represented than in the letter he wrote to his friend and former colleague, the humanist scribe and royal librarian Giovan Marco Cinico, after he had left Naples circa 1494 to 1495—the only surviving example of the "several most ornate letters" for which he was praised in Trithemius's biography.[135] Referring to himself as the "musicorum infelicissimus" ("most unfortunate of musicians") to Cinico's "philosophice uite decus prestantissimum" ("illustrious and outstanding glory of the philosophical life"),[136] Tinctoris's letter demonstrates a sense of humility and, as MacCarthy argues, a "perception of vulnerability . . . with respect to his intellectual capabilities as a *musicus*."[137]

This is particularly evident in the letter's conclusion, wherein he illustrates his humble efforts to mirror the intellect of his correspondent:

> And so I return this to you: for every letter of yours a syllable, for every syllable a phrase, for every phrase a sentence, begging you to bear in mind that this missive, quite stripped as it is of any merits of refinement, was composed not at Athens but at Pozzuoli, not by an orator but by a *musicus*.[138]

In clarifying that his letter was written "non ab oratore sed musico," and perhaps even more vividly "non Athenis sed Putheolis," Tinctoris emphasizes a self-conscious recognition of the status that humanistic and intellectual pursuits continued to have in Aragonese Naples, even as music seemed to be gaining some ground. Yet, it is in precisely that awareness of scholarly prestige that Tinctoris appears to transcend the conventional boundaries that so often separated men of letters from practicing musicians in Renaissance Italy. We may lack direct evidence of his active participation in meetings of the *Accademia Pontaniana*, but the composer-theorist's friendship and correspondence with Giovan Marco Cinico—a regular participant in the *Accademia*—as well as his employment of humanist scholarly discourse throughout his prolific writings suggest his engagement within a broad network of intellectuals at Naples.[139] Moreover, given that

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134 See MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*."

135 "Epistolas ornatissimas complures," reproduced in Woodley, "Iohannes Tinctoris," 247. English translation from MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*," 41.

136 The original letter is preserved in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. XII.F.50, fols. 2v–4r. An edition and English translation of it has been published in Woodley, "Tinctoris's Italian Translation," 236–44 (here 236). The full letter has also been transcribed and published in De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, 1:80–81, n. 76.

137 MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*," 43.

138 "Hinc tibi pro littera syllabam, pro syllaba dictionem, pro dictione orationem remitto, supplicans ut hanc ipsam epistulam omni elegantiarum dignitate nudissimam non Athenis sed Putheolis, non ab oratore sed musico, conditam animaduertas." Original Latin and English translation drawn from Woodley, "Tinctoris's Italian Translation," 244.

139 On humanism in music treatises, see also Holford-Strevens, "Humanism and the Language."

the meetings of the *Accademia* were typically open to a wide range of members and non-members from various backgrounds, it is not inconceivable, rather it is quite likely, that Tinctoris (and other intellectually minded musicians at Naples) could have been occasionally in attendance.[140]

The lines of influence between humanists and musicians need not be seen as unidirectional either.[141] Tinctoris clearly considered the study of music to be integral to any well-rounded education in the liberal arts, and he even engaged in scholarly discussions of music with other composer-theorists, such as Franchinus Gaffurius. In the words of Gaffurius's contemporary biographer Pantaleone Melaguli, during his Neapolitan sojourn in 1478 to 1480, "being well versed in musical studies, [Gaffurius] distinguished himself so much that he did not hesitate to discuss music very sagaciously at this time with Johannes Tinctoris, Guglielmus Guarnerius, Bernard Hycart, and many other distinguished musicians."[142] Not only did such discussions influence the theoretical writings on music produced during this period (as Melaguli aptly points out with respect to Gaffurius's *Theoricum opus* of 1480),[143] but, as I will discuss further below, they also likely set the tone for the composer-theorists' place within an elite network of Neapolitan intellectuals and aristocrats many of whom were musically inclined.

Tinctoris also emphasized music's place as a worthy subject of study among the liberal arts in the dedicatory prologue to his *Diffinitorium musice*. Most likely written sometime between 1472 and 1474,[144] and dedicated to his student (and the king's daughter) Beatrice d'Aragona, Tinctoris begins his prologue by defining "divine music" as "the most liberal art, and the noblest among the mathematical arts" and

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140 See below for a discussion of the *Accademia*'s membership and meetings.

141 On the issues surrounding the relationship between music and humanism in the Renaissance, a great deal has been written over the past several decades. See, for example, Pirrotta, "Musica e umanesimo"; Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance*; Bent, "Humanists and Music"; Gallico, "Oda è canto"; Strohm, "Music, Humanism, and the Idea"; Strohm, "Neue Aspekte von Musik"; Strohm, "Fifteenth-Century Humanism"; Hankins, "Humanism and Music in Italy"; Holford-Strevens, "Poetic Humanism and Music."

142 "Ibi Phylippini Bononii regis scribae municipis et aequalis sui hortatu, in musica meditatione exercitatus tantum praestitit, ut iam cum Ioanne Tinctoris, Gulielmo Guarnerii, Bernardo Hycart compluribusque clarissimis musicis acutissime disserere non dubitaret." The biographical text is included as an appendix to the manuscript copy of Gaffurius's *De harmonia instrumentali* (1497) in Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. XXVIII A 9, fols. 5–130. It also appears in a revised version appended to the print publication Gaffurius, *De harmonia musicorum* [1518]. The translation is drawn from Gaffurius, *De harmonia musicorum* [1977], 212–13. See also MacCarthy, "Tinctoris and the Neapolitan *Eruditi*," 45–46; D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 26; Galiano, "Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza," 275–76; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 80.

143 Gaffurius, *De harmonia musicorum* [1518], 212–13. See also the discussions in D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 26; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 80.

144 On dating the first version(s) of this treatise, see Cecilia Panti's introduction to Tinctoris, *Diffinitorium musice*, xxxi–xxxii.

a natural complement to Beatrice's study of "poetry, rhetoric, and the other worthy arts."[145] What follows is an alphabetical compendium of 297 musical terms relevant to both the practice and theory of music, which, as Cecilia Panti has noted, "joins together the practicality of consulting a dictionary with the systematic organization of knowledge appropriate to an encyclopedia."[146] Such a work would, of course, have been a fundamental pedagogical tool in Tinctoris's lessons with Beatrice, but, as the only one of his treatises to be published in full during his lifetime,[147] its dissemination and influence reached far beyond that private context.

Similarly, in a letter praising Naples (ca. 1476) the Florentine humanist Francesco Bandini de' Baroncelli, who would eventually become a member of Beatrice d'Aragona's household in Hungary, characterized cultural life in Ferrante's Naples as follows:[148]

> If you want an example of the liberal arts, he is here in all [his] perfection, so that if you seek either theologians or philosophers or poets or men of eloquence and learning, here there are so many of the best of them. If [you seek] physicians or jurists, here there are a great number of them and [they are] more perfect than in any other land in Italy. If [you seek] musicians, sculptors, painters, architects, engineers and [men] of similar liberal professions, here it is completely full of them, and continuing now, with every attention and reward, his Majesty the Most Serene King is careful to shepherd them on with sustained schools of all similar perfect arts.[149]

From this outsider's perspective, the liberal arts and vocations—which he claims, hyperbolically and not without his own agenda, to be at their most perfect—pursued in Ferrante's Naples include not only the work of philosophers and poets, but also that of musicians. As we will see, the study and practice of the musi-

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145 "Quamobrem artis liberalissime ac inter mathematicas honestissime, videlicet divine musice, studiosus" and "que a poematibus, oratoriis, muneribus et aliis artibus bonis, in quibus quod pulcherrimum excellis." Latin text from Tinctoris, *Diffinitorium musice*, 3. English translation from Tinctoris, *Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 2–5.

146 "Unisce alla praticità di consultazione del dizionario l'organizzazione sistematica dello scibile propria dell'enciclopedia." Introduction to Tinctoris, *Diffinitorium musice*, xxvii.

147 The treatise was published by Gerardus de Lisa in Treviso circa 1495. See the introduction to ibid., xlv–lii.

148 According to Paul Oskar Kristeller, Bandini was likely in Naples shortly before 1476, the year of Beatrice d'Aragona's marriage to King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, and then went on to accompany the Neapolitan princess to Hungary, possibly as a member of her household. See Kristeller, "An Unpublished Description," 290–99.

149 "Se vuoi delle liberali arti exemplo, egli è qui in tutta perfectione, però che se o theologi o philosophi o poeti o huomini eloquentissimi et eruditi cerchi, qui ne è assaissimi et optimi; se medici o iuristi, qui ne è in gran copia et perfecti più che in niun' altra terra d'Italia. Se musici, sculptori, pictori, architecti, ingiegnieri et di simili mestieri liberali, qui ne è in tutto colmo, et del continuo la Maestà del Serenissimo Re con ogni sollecitudine et premio attende a conducerne con continue schuole di tutte simili arti perfette." New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 267, fols. 13v–14v (full letter, fols. 1r–23r). Letter reproduced in Kristeller, "An Unpublished Description," 303.

cal arts, at both amateur and professional levels, among aristocratic and intellectual circles in the Kingdom of Naples became increasingly important toward the end of the fifteenth century. The presence of music theorists (and pedagogues) like Tinctoris—as well as, briefly, Franchinus Gaffurius and Guilielmus Guarnerius—likely had a lasting impact on the musical knowledge, and possibly even literacy, of those who chose to study it. Indeed, while Neapolitan poet-performers—most without formal musical training—engaged in an oral tradition of singing vernacular lyric, it is telling that in the years following the arrival of Tinctoris and others we begin to see the first substantial written records of that repertory preserved with musical notation.[150]

Song and Dance at the Castel Capuano: The Patronage of Ippolita Maria Sforza, Duchess of Calabria

The king's official residence and court at the Castel Nuovo, which housed the royal library founded by Alfonso I, was one central meeting place within the city of Naples for many new humanists and political advisors, as well as members of the musical chapel. The other was the Castel Capuano, where Ferrante's son Alfonso, the Duke of Calabria and heir to the Kingdom of Naples, lived with his Milanese wife, the Duchess Ippolita Sforza—herself trained in Latin letters, music, and dance performance.[151] Due in large part to Ippolita's enthusiastic patronage and support, the Castel Capuano quickly became the site of an active community of vernacular poets, who came from both local and foreign backgrounds within the Kingdom. Indeed, from the time of her marriage to Alfonso In 1465, she was celebrated throughout the Italian peninsula, and especially in Naples, for her patronage and performance of the literary and musical arts. One particularly telling example of her illustrious reputation comes from the summer of 1465, when the festivities celebrating Ippolita's marriage to Alfonso d'Aragona accompanied the bride and her entourage throughout their journey south from Milan to Naples. Along their route, the bridal party stopped at several major cities and courts, each of which hosted lavish celebrations in honor of the soon-to-be duchess, whose political marriage promised to unite two major powers in the Italian peninsula.

The surviving descriptions of these events illustrate their lavish grandeur with varying levels of detail. Witnesses in Florence, for example, described the festivities there as "meravigliose e mai più vedute" ("marvelous and the likes of which would never

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150 On the manuscripts that preserve this repertory with musical notation, see part III. On the repertory itself, see part V.

151 On Ippolita's upbringing and reputation, see Serena Castaldo's introduction to the edition Castaldo, *Lettere di Ippolita*, lxviii–xci; Welch, "Between Milan and Naples"; Cutolo, "La giovinezza di Ippolita."

be seen again"),[152] while others in Siena depicted a rich reception complete with song and dance, lavish banquets, fireworks, and, above all, great expenditure on the part of the Sienese people.[153] One account from Siena presents a particularly detailed picture. In his *Diario delle cose sanesi*, the chronicler Allegretto Allegretti tells us that on June 29, 1465 Ippolita arrived in Siena with an impressive entourage comprised of a thousand people both on foot and on horseback as well as 150 mules carrying their possessions. The various members of this enormous traveling party were then hosted throughout the city of Siena with the Duchess herself taking up lodgings at the home of Sienese aristocrat Tommaso Pecci.[154]

Allegretti's description of the ensuing festivities is particularly noteworthy as a testament to the Duchess's musical and literary interests, which would carry over into her married life in Naples:

> As for the arts, a beautiful stage production and dance were ordered for the Duchess at the steps of the Palazzo de' Signori. And there were brought together as many noble young men and women as Siena had to offer, well adorned with clothes and jewels. And there were young dancers, and they constructed a great she-wolf covered in gold, from which emerged a *moresca* made up of twelve people, richly adorned, and one dressed as a nun. And they danced to a song that says: *Non vogl'essere più Monica; arsa le sia la Tonica, chi se la veste più ec.* ("I don't want to be a nun anymore / May the tunic [nun's habit] be burned / and whoever keeps wearing it"). And this dance was accompanied by a beautiful banquet of marzipans, and a great quantity of other confections, as well as seasonal fruits from every region.[155]

On the steps of the Palazzo de' Signori, the highest caliber of food and entertainment were presented together in a grand spectacle that aimed to please and amaze in every possible way. In particular, dance, song, and visual imagery were intertwined in the execution of a twelve-person *moresca* performed to a song with the text *Non*

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152 Letter written by the Sienese orators in Florence Leonardo Benvoglienti, Giovanni Bichi, and Andrea Capacci on June 23, 1465; quoted in Lisini, *Le feste fatte in Napoli*, 8, n. 1.

153 Tommaso Fecini, *Cronache senesi*, in the Biblioteca dell'Archivio di Stato di Siena; quoted in Lisini, *Le feste fatte in Napoli*, 10–11.

154 See Allegretti, "Diario di Allegretto Allegretti," cols. 771–72. Interestingly, this Tommaso Pecci is an older relative of the late-sixteenth-century Sienese nobleman and composer of *canzonette* and *madrigali*, also named Tomaso Pecci. See Buch, "'Seconda prattica' and the Aesthetic."

155 "Per le Arti alla detta Duchessa fu ordinate un bellissimo Apparato e Ballo, a piei el Palazzo de' Signori, e furono convitate quante Giovane da bene, e Fanciulle aveva Siena, le quali andorono molto bene ornate di Veste, e Gioje; e Giovani da danzare; e fecesi una Lupa grande tutta dorata, della quale uscì una Moresca, e ballavano a una Canzone, che dice: Non vogl'essere più Monica; arsa le sia la Tonica, chi se la veste più ec. Et al detto Ballo fu apparacchiata una bella Colazione di Marzapani, ed altri confetti in quantità, e Frutta d'ogni ragione secondo el tempo." Allegretti, "Diario di Allegretto Allegretti," col. 772. On the connection between this fifteenth-century song ("Non vogl'esser più monica") and the later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century vocal and instrumental variations on "La Monica," see Wendland, "'Madre non mi far Monaca'."

vogl'essere più Monica, etc.[156] The song chosen for this performance evokes a popular theme of choosing marriage over life in a convent, which was common in songs of both Spanish and Italian origin of the period and which would have been appropriate for the celebration of Ippolita's upcoming nuptials.[157] Moreover, the general apparatus of the theatrical dance—complete with a larger-than-life gilded she-wolf from which the costumed dancers emerged—functioned as a spectacular reference to the *lupa* in the classical story of Romulus and Remus and the birth of Rome, as well as the founding of Siena by Remus's sons Senio and Aschio.[158] Thus bringing together courtly dance, popular song, and mythical imagery, the performance would have been marvelously fit for a duchess and future queen, whose reputation as an accomplished dancer and trained humanist preceded her and whose marriage, many hoped, would serve to maintain peace throughout the Italian peninsula.[159]

This multifaceted spectacle aimed to impress a woman who had been raised from a young age to appreciate the musical and literary arts as indispensable elements of political and courtly life. In fact, Ippolita's practice and patronage of those arts went far beyond this specific example from the very public festivities surrounding her wedding. Rather, the event described in Allegretti's chronicle can be best understood when placed in dialogue with her more private role as a patron of Neapolitan song and dance following her marriage to the Duke of Calabria. Both epistolary evidence and contemporary biographies generally portray Ippolita as a highly educated and cultured woman, who cared greatly for the study and patronage of literature and the arts and who was no stranger to performance. From the time of her engagement to Alfonso In 1455, the future Duchess of Calabria was given a wide-ranging and thorough humanistic education in all the areas necessary for the development of a future political wife and leader.[160] In fact, Ippolita and her brother Galeazzo Maria studied Latin with the humanist scholar Baldo Martorello, whose

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156 Here, we have an example of a *moresca* of a different kind from what was performed during Alfonso I's triumphal entry into the city of Naples. Rather than staging a battle between Christians and Moors, this is a theatrical costumed dance treating a different theme—that of a woman who prefers marriage over a life of the church. The *moresca*, indeed, became a costumed dance of many different themes during this period in Italy, usually aimed at honoring a specific noble figure through allegory and symbolism. See the discussion in Sparti, "The Function and Status of Dance," 44–45.

157 For a connection to Spanish songs of a similar theme, see Rovira, *Humanistas y poetas*, 101.

158 On Siena's foundation myth and the legend of Senio and Aschio, first penned under the pseudonym of Tisbo Colonnese in the mid-fifteenth century, see Nevola, *Siena*, 147–48.

159 The 1455 betrothal of Ippolita and Alfonso was a key part of the diplomatic overtures made between Naples and Milan around the time of the Peace of Lodi (1454) and the Italian League (1455). It was one of two Milanese-Neapolitan political betrothals made that year, the other between Ippolita's younger brother Sforza Maria and Ferrante's daughter Eleonora d'Aragona (though this betrothal would ultimately be dissolved in favor of the marriage of Eleonora to Ercole d'Este of Ferrara). For more on this, see Castaldo's introduction to Castaldo, *Lettere di Ippolita*, xii–xiii.

160 See Cutolo, "La giovinezza di Ippolita."

Latin grammar book, composed in 1454, was dedicated to his two pupils early on in their studies.[161] Eventually Martorello tutored Ippolita exclusively, giving her the solid foundation in Latin grammar and literature that she would ultimately take with her to Naples.

In addition to her intellectual studies, Ippolita's daily activities also included training in the performance of song and dance, as well as frequent hunting trips. From epistolary evidence gathered by Serena Castaldo and Alessandro Cutolo, we know that Ippolita's recreational talents in both musical performance and hunting were frequently put on display.[162] Her skill in dance, in particular, was memorialized by Antonio Cornazzano in his dedication to the future Duchess in the 1455 version of his *Libro dell'arte del danzare* with an opening sonnet celebrating her grace and virtue: "Amaçonica nympha inclyta diva."[163] Moreover, these dances were sometimes followed by Ippolita's performance in song as well. A letter from Bianca Maria Visconti to her husband Francesco Sforza attests to just such an occasion in her description of a gathering to welcome the French ambassador at Abbiate:

> Our children and our young men and women put together several dances . . . Having done that by dinner time, and after our daughter Ippolita sang some beautiful songs, [the ambassador] and I went to dinner . . . [and he] was left in amazement at our children's skill in dancing and singing.[164]

Thus, in all aspects of her young life, Ippolita was no stranger to performance in a variety of settings. From Latin orations, to song and dance, to hunting parties, the Duchess of Calabria was well trained in the nuanced performance of courtly life. The spectacular performance of "Non vogl'esser più monica" during the 1465 Sienese wedding festivities demonstrates both a desire to honor an important political union and an awareness of Ippolita's reputation as an educated humanist and performer. Yet, it is only in looking at additional evidence of this song's transmission, and its similarity to repertory in the Neapolitan tradition, that we may understand it as representative of Ippolita's patronage of vernacular song and dance in the years following her marriage as well.

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161 Welch, "Between Milan and Naples," 125–26; Castaldo, *Lettere di Ippolita*, lxxii–lxxiii.

162 Castaldo, *Lettere di Ippolita*; Cutolo, "La giovinezza di Ippolita."

163 The 1455 version of Cornazzano's treatise is no longer extant, but a revised copy from 1465, dedicated at that time to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, also includes the 1455 dedicatory sonnet to Ippolita (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capponiano 203, fol. 3r). See the discussion and transcription of the opening of this copy of the treatise in Smith, *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, 1:84–85.

164 "fece più danze per li nostri fioli et per le nostre done e giovene . . . Et facto così ad hora de cena, et cantata alcune belle cancione per la fiola nostra Jpolita, esso et io andassemo a cena . . . maravigliandose luy del ben ballare et cantare de li fioli nostri." Quoted in Castaldo, *Lettere di Ippolita*, lxxx.

Allegretti's account of the 1465 performance of "Non vogl'esser più monica" is corroborated by written records of what appears to be the same song in several different late-fifteenth-century sources.[165] These include: (1) a notated *barzelletta* setting in the musical manuscript Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, Ms. IV.a.24 (hereafter Escorial B);[166] (2) text-only copies in five different late-Quattrocento literary codices, one of which labels it "Chanzona napoletana";[167] and (3) *cantasi come* indications for a number of different *lauda* texts, the most prominent of which was "Hora mai sono in età" in an early print collection of Feo Belcari's *laude*.[168] This varied transmission seems to reflect the song's popularity in myriad contexts, both oral and written, as—to quote Blake Wilson—an "eloquent testimony to the distinctive creative conditions found at the threshold between written and unwritten traditions."[169] In particular, the notated version in Escorial B places the song within the unusual framework of a collection of complex polyphonic, mostly French-texted chansons of a vastly different, essentially written musical tradition. Its inclusion in this collection may be connected to Ippolita herself as she made her way to her new home at the Castel Capuano in Naples.

Dating from the 1460s, Escorial B is the earliest musical collection to be associated with the Aragonese court of Naples. Numerous scholars have argued, based on elements of repertory, orthography, and concordance data, that the book's provenance is either Milanese (Nino Pirrotta, Martha Hanen, and Eileen Southern) or Neapolitan (Knud Jeppesen and Allan Atlas).[170] Dennis Slavin's more recent article on this topic, however, convincingly suggests that Escorial B is in fact a "disguised composite," which was likely compiled in several stages beginning in Milan

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165 For listings and discussions of the various sources preserving copies of this song, see Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 236; Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 523–24; and Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 131–34.

166 Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, Ms. IV.a.24, fols. 90v–91r.

167 The "Chanzona napoletana" heading appears in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. 35 C sup, fol. 58r–v. The other literary manuscripts preserving this text are: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1069, fol. 55r; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Acquisti e doni 759 (*olim* Florence, Biblioteca Venturi Ginori Lisci, Ms. 3), fol. 329r–v; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. IX.204 (*olim* 6879), fols. 110r–111r; and Barcelona, Ateneu Barcelonès, Ms. 1, fols. 90r–91r.

168 Belcari, Feo, Francesco d'Albizo, et al., *Laude facte e composte*; reproduced in Galletti, *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari*, 68. For a full list of the *cantasi come lauda* settings related to "Hora mai che fora son," see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 524. See also the full discussion of the complex of *lauda* settings in Wilson, "'Hora mai sono in età'."

169 Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 134.

170 For those in favor of a Milanese origin, see Pirrotta, "Su alcuni testi italiani"; Hanen, *The Chansonnier El Escorial*; Southern, "El Escorial, Monastery Library"; Southern, *Anonymous Pieces in the MS El Escorial*, ix–xiv. For those in favor of a Neapolitan origin, see Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 2:18–19; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 118–19 (esp. the discussion in n. 12); Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, 1:39.

and eventually making its way to Naples.[171] In addition, Eileen Southern, while still advocating for a Milanese provenance, admits that the Neapolitan elements of the manuscript and the fact that it eventually ended up in Naples are most likely due to the book being taken from Milan to Naples by Ippolita herself.[172] Though it may not be possible to know with certainty, the dating and contents of the collection seem to suggest that Ippolita could have carried the earlier layers of the composite with her in her journey south from Milan to Naples in 1465 and that the additional Neapolitan layers were added in the years following.

The song performed in Siena in 1465 appears in Escorial B with the incipit "Hora mai che fora son," followed by the same lines cited in Allegretti's account: "Non voio esser più monicha / Arsa li sia la tonicha / E chi se la veste più."[173] "Hora mai" is not included in the manuscript's opening index, which seems to reflect only the Milanese sections, but instead was added into a layer of the composite that Slavin identifies as one of the manuscript's later stages of compilation, which has clear markers of Neapolitan provenance.[174] It is, thus, possible that the song was copied following the performance Ippolita witnessed in Siena. Whether or not the song itself is actually of Neapolitan origin, as implied by its text designation as "napoletana" in one of the literary manuscripts, it would almost certainly have been associated with Naples through its spectacular performance at the Sienese festivities celebrating Ippolita's marriage to Alfonso.

Stylistically, "Hora may che fora son" seems to have much more in common with the numerous dance-based *barzelletta* and popular song settings preserved in Neapolitan manuscripts of the 1480s and 1490s than with the majority of the contents of Escorial B. Written for four voices in a strictly homophonic texture, the musical setting of "Hora may" resembles many of the songs found in the late-Quattrocento Neapolitan repertory.[175] Like those works, it has a number of characteristics typical of music with origins in improvisation or oral composition, such as: short, simple melodic phrases, a preponderance of pitch repetition in a recitation-like style, a reliance on formulaic passages, and a strict correspondence between the form of the poetic text and the musical structure.[176] Indeed, as will be discussed in part V, the *barzelletta* is one of the major genres of the oral tradition of singing lyric in Naples from the 1460s through the end of the century, and the music and text of "Hora may" fit neatly within the parameters of that practice.

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171 Slavin, "On the Origins of Escorial," 260.

172 Southern, *Anonymous Pieces in the MS El Escorial*, xiii–xiv.

173 El Escorial, Ms. IV.a.24, fol. 90v.

174 Slavin refers to this as "Stage 5," which corresponds with a new scribal hand (scribe VI) and a cluster of anonymous Italian-texted works. See Slavin, "On the Origins of Escorial," 269–70, 278.

175 See appendix A for a repertoire census of Italian-texted songs in Neapolitan music manuscripts.

176 See part V for a more detailed discussion of these stylistic features and their connections to the oral tradition.

When Ippolita made her way to Naples in 1465, she was poised to become a significant patron of literature and the musical arts. She brought with her a well-rounded humanistic education, she was accompanied by both her tutor Baldo Martorello and her dance instructor Antonio Cornazzano, and she included as part of her dowry numerous books of literature later added to the royal library at the Castel Nuovo.[177] Once in Naples, her ducal home at the Castel Capuano became a center for literary activity and especially for the production and performance of Neapolitan poetry and song. In fact, numerous Neapolitan poets—including Masuccio Salernitano, Benedetto Gareth, Pietro Iacopo de Jennaro, and Francesco Galeota, among others—paid homage to the Duchess in their own works through dedications and references to her nobility and generosity of spirit.[178] In one telling example, an early version of Iacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* now preserved in the Vatican library appears to be dedicated to Ippolita, as it includes her coat of arms on the illuminated frontispiece.[179] This dedication, in particular, hints at Ippolita's prominence and influence as a patron of improvised song performance, since Sannazaro's pastoral masterwork famously allegorized (and, as I argue, ethnographized) the lyric performances of Neapolitan poets and humanists as shepherd song.[180] Furthermore, two poems by Francesco Galeota dedicated to Ippolita can be found copied in the Neapolitan lyric anthology Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2752: the *capitolo* "Inclita gloriosa alta madonna" (fol. 38r) and the acrostic sonnet "Inclita generosa alma Sirena" copied with the dedicatory rubric "Ad Ipolita" (fol. 103v).[181] Together with the collection's opening prose letter addressed to Ippolita on folio 11r, these dedicatory poems reflect the Duchess's importance as a patron of the numerous lyric texts, many of which were almost certainly performed in song, preserved in the manuscript as a whole.[182]

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177 For a full list of the books Ippolita brought with her to Naples as part of her dowry and their addition to the royal library at the Castel Nuovo, see De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, 1:98–99. For a discussion of the additions to the library made by Alfonso II and Ippolita more generally, see the full chapter 4 ("Alfonso duca di Calabria ed Ippolita Sforza"), in ibid., 1:97–115. See also Cutolo, "La giovinezza di Ippolita," 132–33; Bryce, "'Fa finire uno bello studio et dice volere studiare.'"

178 See discussion in Castaldo, *Lettere di Ippolita*, lxxxi–xci.

179 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. lat. 3964. This illuminated frontispiece is integral to the original manuscript. For more on this copy of *Arcadia* and others, see Carlo Vecce's introduction to Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 43–44.

180 There is a great deal of scholarship on various topics related to Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, but for a discussion of the specifically musical and performance-oriented qualities of the pastoral work, see Bortoletti, "*Arcadia*, festa e *performance*."

181 For a discussion of Riccardiana 2752, see part IV. On a possible connection to Ippolita in Galeota's "Poi che la vista mia sarrà lontana" (fol. 70r), see Parenti, "'Antonio Carazolo desamato,'" 265, n. 1.

182 As will be discussed in part V, one of these texts (the *strambotto siciliano* "Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento") survives with a notated musical setting in four different Neapolitan music manuscripts of the period.

As a complement to her patronage of Neapolitan poetry and song, Ippolita's skill and reputation as a dancer was also carried over to her marital home in Aragonese Naples, where dance had flourished from the earliest days of King Alfonso I's reign. Indeed, in a song written in honor of Alfonso Il magnanimo, the various Spanish and Neapolitan dance forms typically performed in the Kingdom of Naples were celebrated as follows:

Li balli maravilgiusi	The marvelous dances
tracti da catalani,	Drawn from the Catalans,
li loro mumi gĭusi	Their joyous *mumi*
tan zentile e soprani,	So refined and regal,
quisti passa italiani	[From] these it passes [to] the Italians
le cascarde nove et belle,	The new and beautiful *cascarde*
poi porta i palomelle,	Brings forth the *palomelle*
la nocte ad torce avante.	Then the torch-lit night.
Per Alfonso etc. . . .	By [the mighty king] Alfonso etc. . . .
Le moresche danze avante,	The *moresche* are danced first,
le basce e l'alte appresso.	The *basce* and the *alte* follow.
Non porria dire quante	This verse of mine could not say
son varie esto mio verso.	How many varied [dances there are].
Ogni populo perverso	Every crude populace
è rimaso sí gentile.	Is left so refined.
Viva Alfonso signorile,	Long live noble Alfonso,
de levante re et ponente!	King in the East and the West!
Per Alfonso etc. . . .[183]	By [the mighty king] Alfonso etc. . . .

Most likely written sometime in the 1450s by the Neapolitan aristocrat and jurist Aurelio Simmaco de' Iacobiti, this celebratory *barzelletta* consists of sixteen eight-verse stanzas treating various elements of Naples's illustrious and refined culture, each punctuated by the refrain: "Ay Napoli excellente, / si nel mondo più zentile. / Tu si facta signorile / per Alfonzo Re possente" (Oh, illustrious Naples, / You are the most refined in all the world. / You have been made noble / By the mighty king Alfonso). Preceding the stanzas on dance, which come toward the end, the poem also celebrates triumphant battles, jousts, and tournaments, as well as religion, piety, courtly love, and gallantry—all of which are said to bring beauty and sophistication to the noble kingdom.[184]

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183   "Ay Napoli excellente" (stanzas 13 and 14) by Aurelio Simmaco de' Iacobiti. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1097, fol. 67. The full poem has also been published in transcription (along with a letter from Giuseppe Mazzatinti to Mario Mandalari) in the appendix to Mandalari, *Rimatori napoletani del Quattrocento*, 183–91. My thanks to Massimo Ossi for his helpful suggestions regarding the translation of these two stanzas.

184   For a discussion of the full poem, see Addesso, *Teatro e festività*, 18–20.

Dance is no exception in this regard. Given equal or greater weight to these other subjects over the course of two full stanzas, the Spanish and Neapolitan dances listed are described as "noble and refined," "new and beautiful," and in their varied guises they are shown to act as a method of civilizing the masses: "ogni populo perverso / è rimaso sí gentile." Moreover, the specific dances mentioned reveal a variety of different styles ranging from large, quasi-theatrical spectacles to more intimate courtly or popular dances. These include: (1) the Catalan *momo*: a type of courtly masked dance originating in Spain;[185] (2) the *moresca*: as discussed above, a mimed and costumed dance interlude that typically formed part of a larger banquet or festival; (3) the *cascarda* and the *palomella*: two local Neapolitan dances that were performed well into the Baroque period;[186] and (4) the widely practiced *bassa e alta danza*, which can be traced in its first written evidence to Spain and southern Italy.[187] The celebration of these varied dance types in song, and in particular in the dance-based song form of the *barzelletta* (strikingly, the same form as "Hora may che fora son"), is an early example of how these two musical arts intersected in Neapolitan life. Indeed, given the vivid imagery throughout "Ay Napoli excellente" and its generic similarity to a theatrical dance-based *barzelletta* like "Hora may," one could easily imagine a staged or, at the very least, costumed dance to accompany the song's musical performance.

In late-Quattrocento Naples, the musical arts of dance and lyric song had two significant traits in common: both were staples of public and private festivities throughout the kingdom; and both were ephemeral practices, which favored embodied performance and improvisation above writing and composition. Dance was an integral part of courtly life in Aragonese Naples, especially among the female members of the royal family. Indeed, as scholars like Cecilia Nocilli and Cristina Anna Addesso have demonstrated, evidence of courtly and popular dance, performed largely by women, is found in surviving descriptions of civic festivals and processions, lavish wedding celebrations and banquets, as well as more intimate private gatherings.[188] Contemporaneously, the oral tradition of singing vernacular lyric attained paramount importance in elite literary circles, and, much like dance, sung lyric became a frequent ingredient to be mixed with elements of theater and dance in various types of court festivity.

Yet, while it is certainly true that men danced and women sang in various circumstances throughout Naples, one cannot deny that, in surviving historical evidence, women are most frequently described as dancers, their beauty and grace on display

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185 Priego, *Literatura española medieval*, 259.
186 On these dances, see Nocilli, *Coreografare l'identità*, 88–100.
187 On the origins of the *bassa danza* and its counterpart the *alta*, see Heartz, "The Basse Dance"; Marrocco, *Inventory of 15th Century Bassedanze*.
188 See Nocilli, *Coreografare l'identità*; Addesso, *Teatro e festività*.

as objects of admiration; and men are described as lyric poets and singers, more often than not lamenting their unfulfilled desire and unrequited love. Indeed, this trend is consistent with what we know of fifteenth-century Italian courts more generally. Both men and women of the noble classes are, of course, known to have been active dancers at state weddings and other special occasions;[189] however, as Barbara Sparti has argued, contemporary descriptions in letters and chronicles imply that "both public and private dancing seems to have been the prerogative of ladies and of young people."[190] Ultimately, the confluence of the dance and song traditions, particularly at the princely court of Castel Capuano under the patronage of Ippolita Sforza (a lady who both danced and sang), reveals a vibrant cultural exchange in the musical and literary arts between the women and men, dancers and singers, who populated late-Quattrocento Naples.

Ippolita's arrival in Naples in 1465 coincided—likely not by accident—with the arrival of the dancing master Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro (known also by his Christian name Giovanni Ambrosio), who had been borrowed from the service of the new duchess's parents for the purpose of teaching his daughters Eleonora and Beatrice the Lombard style of dance. Guglielmo himself attests to this in the following letter to Bianca Maria Sforza:

> I believe that your ladyship should know that I am with the King because he sent to his lordship sir Alessandro that I should come to teach his daughter lady Eleonora and also lady Beatrice to dance in the Lombard style. I have taught them so well that his majesty the king has no greater pleasure than to see them dance.[191]

This letter, dated July 15, 1466, testifies that in the course of a year the two Aragonese princesses were able to master a new style of dance, likely owing not only the effectiveness of their teacher, but also to their previous experience with Neapolitan and Spanish dance styles. Indeed, in another letter from one of Bianca Maria's emissaries dated just six days later, we find an example of Beatrice's new dance skills on display: "all the ladies danced well. But the honor was given to Lady

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189 For a retrospective portrait of the various settings in which noblemen danced in late-fifteenth-century Italy, one need look no further than Baldassarre Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* (1528). On this, see Daye, "The Perfect Courtier." As I will discuss later in this chapter, eventually Neapolitan noblemen—such as Tristano Caracciolo and Antonio De Ferrariis *detto* Galateo—would consider dance and song together as integral parts of a proper noble education.

190 Sparti, "The Function and Status of Dance," 47. On fifteenth-century dance practices, see also Bryce, "Performing for Strangers."

191 "Io credo che la Sig.ria Vostra debia sapere como yo sto cum la maystà de Re perchè ipso mandò ala Sig.ria messere Alessandro che yo duvesse venire ad imparare madopna Lionora sua figlia e ancho madopna Biatrice alo ballare lombardo li quali yo lo facto maestre che la Maestà de Re non ave altro piacere se non vederle ballare." Letter transcribed/preserved in Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza," 61.

Beatrice, the King's daughter, and with her danced our Giovanni Ambrosio, formerly a Jew, who I understand has been her teacher."[192]

In studying and performing with a northern dancing master, Beatrice and Eleonora d'Aragona were clearly preparing for their own future marriages to Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and Ercole d'Este of Ferrara, respectively. Both women were given extensive educations in Naples during their youth, and Beatrice, as previously discussed, was trained in music by Tinctoris. Moreover, the wedding festivities surrounding Eleonora's marriage to Ercole in 1473 and Beatrice's marriage to Matthias in 1476 were similarly lavish to those celebrating the union between Ippolita and Alfonso, with grand entertainments drawing together elements of dance, song, and spectacle.[193]

In the realm of song and dance, however, it would appear that the skills and patronage of their sister-in-law Ippolita Sforza were unparalleled. Indeed, Guglielmo Ebreo's 1466 letter to Bianca Maria provides further evidence of the Duchess of Calabria's musical activities and reputation as follows:

> I thought it wise to inform you of the virtues of the Duchess of Calabria, your daughter, . . . who is so apt at dancing that she composed two new dances based upon two French songs of her own creation, so that his majesty the king has no greater pleasure, nor does it seem that he finds any other paradise if it is not when he sees her dancing and also singing. And when his majesty the king wants to honor some great Lord or some great master, he has her dance and sing privately [for him] such that it doesn't seem that his majesty the king and also his lordship the duke have eyes in their head for anyone else but the Duchess of Calabria.[194]

Here, Guglielmo attests to the various ways in which Ippolita engaged with both dance and song early on in her marriage to the Duke of Calabria. She was obviously a skilled and much-admired performer in both musical arts, and, strikingly, she

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192 "tute ballavano bene. Ma l'honore fu dato a madama Beatrice figlia regale e con Ley balava il nostro Johan ambrosio che fu Judeo, quale secondo ho inteso è stato il magistro suo." Letter from Milanese emissary in Naples to Bianca Maria Sforza, Duchess of Milan, July 21, 1466. Milan, State Archives, Sforzesco, Potenze estere, c. 215. Cited in Ebreo da Pesaro, *De pratica seu arte tripudii*, 32.

193 See Falletti, "Le feste per Eleonora d'Aragona [1983]"; Falletti, "Le feste per Eleonora d'Aragona [2012]." For transcriptions of contemporary descriptions of the wedding festivities at Naples for both Eleonora and Beatrice d'Aragona, as well as the 1476 coronation of Beatrice as queen of Hungary, see appendices 13, 16, and 17 of Nocilli, *Coreografare l'identità*, 286, 289–90.

194 "Ben credeva da venirve a notificare delle vertù de la duchessa de Calabria vostra figliola, . . . che nello danzare ey (è) multo appropiata che ave facto duy balli novj supra duy canzuni francese de sua fantasia che la Maestà de Re non ave altro piacere nè altro paradiso non pare che trove se non quando la vede danzare e anche canthare. Et quando la Maestà de Re vole fare honore a qualche gran Signore o qualche gran Maestro la fà danzare et cantare secretamente sichè non pare che la Maestà de Re e anche lo Signor Duca habia altro occhi in testa che la duchessa de Calabria." Letter transcribed/preserved in Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza," 61–62.

created her own dances based on her knowledge of other song repertories. Moreover, her performances were used as a social lubricant in more private settings for select royal guests important to the King and his son. In short, Ippolita's musical skills seem to have been on constant display, but she also took on an unusual level of agency in the creation of the dances and songs she performed. This level of active engagement from a prominent member of the royal family may have allowed for the musical arts of dance and song in Naples to become further entwined.

The surviving Neapolitan song repertory—preserved in manuscripts like Escorial B and Riccardiana 2752, as well as the music manuscripts of the 1480s and 1490s (to be discussed in the next part)—attests not only to a vibrant community of humanist poet-performers, but also to a deeply rooted tradition of dance both of which flourished under the patronage of Ippolita Sforza, an active performer herself. As I will discuss in more detail in part V, this repertory is made up largely of *strambotti* and, to a lesser extent, *barzellette* that have almost exclusively courtly love, and male-gendered, themes. But it also includes a significant subset of other song types representing a wider range of courtly activities many of which involved dance, such as tenor melody settings, hunting songs (or *cacce*), *canti carnascialeschi*, and polyphonic settings of popular tunes. For instance, the earliest notated copies of Guilielmus's *basse danse* "La Spagna" are preserved in two Neapolitan musical manuscripts, Bologna Q 16 and Perugia 431, as "La bassa castiglya" and "Falla con misura" respectively. More significantly, the tenor of this famous dance setting can be traced back to a *basse danse* tenor melody entitled "Re di Spagna" from Antonio Cornazzano's *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, which (as previously mentioned) was dedicated to Ippolita Sforza in its original 1455 version. One song in the Neapolitan repertory that closely resembles both the style and tone of "Hora may che fora son" is "La vita de Colino."[195] Preserved in the musical manuscript Montecassino 871, "La vita de Colino" is a four-voice homophonic setting of what seems to be a popular drinking song. Like "Hora may," as well as many other dance-based melodies, it has short, simple melodic phrases and a great deal of pitch repetition. Moreover, step sequences for this tune appear without music in two fifteenth-century dance sources, one of which is a treatise by Guglielmo Ebreo.[196]

The marriage between Ippolita Sforza and Alfonso d'Aragona, thus, created an atmosphere at the Castel Capuano that encouraged the performance of dance songs like "Hora may che fora son" and "La vita de Colino" within the context of the flourishing courtly love and pastoral tradition of the Neapolitan vernacular po-

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195 I will discuss this song, and the manuscripts that preserve it, in more detail in part IV.

196 The dance treatise by Guglielmo Ebreo is found in New York, New York Public Library, Cia Fornaroli Coll., 52–53: "Baleto chiamato La vita di cholino im tre." The other source is a collection of Italian dances notated by Johannes Cochläus in Nürnberg, Germ. Nat. Mus., Ms. 8842: "vita de Colei."

ets. The choice to memorialize such works in writing stems back to at least the 1460s when the song performed for Ippolita on the eve of her wedding was transcribed into a music book that was almost certainly in her possession. In the decades that followed, many others would be transcribed and memorialized in a similar way. Outside the court, the presence of these songs in multiple source types connected to both dance and sung lyric not only shows their popular reach into a variety of oral and written contexts; it also provides a small glimpse into the interactions of these two musical arts more generally. Indeed, going beyond what has been discussed here, further evidence surrounding dance and song practices in late-Quattrocento Naples can also be found in the theatrical *farse* created by Iacopo Sannazaro and others for major royal celebrations, such as *La presa di Granata* in 1492.[197] Taken together, these sources reflect an environment in which court poetry, dance, and popular song became intertwined in a communal practice of both public and private festivity.

Poetry and Song among Aristocratic Circles in the Kingdom of Naples

As I have discussed thus far, throughout period of the Aragonese dynasty the practice of singing Neapolitan lyric was on some level connected to and eventually encouraged by royal patronage at both the Castel Nuovo and the Castel Capuano. Yet, in a range of contexts—both within the city of Naples and at smaller courts throughout the Kingdom as a whole—the main thread of continuity in this practice was the Neapolitan aristocracy. The aristocracy of late-Quattrocento Naples was not a singular entity, however. It was, rather, a heterogeneous amalgamation of families from both urban and rural backgrounds, which formed a foundation of locally based political power—often with conflicting interests—that had the potential to either clash with or complement the foreign Aragonese government.

Although she writes primarily about the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Maria Antonietta Visceglia's monograph on early-modern Neapolitan aristocracy presents a cogent picture of the differing categories and levels of aristocrats in the Kingdom of Naples starting from the second half of the fifteenth century.[198] Among the noble ranks, the Neapolitan historian lays out five specific groups: the *nobiltà di seggio*, the *nobiltà fuori seggio*, the *signori titolati*, the *baroni*, and the *nobili di città nelle province*.[199] As she explains,

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197 On *La presa di Granata* and other *farse* by Sannazaro and others, see Addesso, *Teatro e festività*, 75–91.
198 Visceglia, *Identità sociali*, 9–58 and 89–139.
199 Ibid., 89.

each of these groups represents . . . differing levels of the aristocratic hierarchy, assumes differing social and even demographic dynamics, . . . and nonetheless the interconnections among these diverse spheres prove to be numerous and intricate.[200]

The distinctions among these groups have to do with a combination of factors, involving both the origins of the families belonging to each one and their current financial and political circumstances. Yet, as Visceglia indicates, their identities are also intertwined in a complex web of social and political connections that ultimately came to influence the development of cultural practices, such as singing vernacular lyric. For the purposes of this chapter, I will discuss two main aristocratic categories, which encompass Visceglia's five smaller groupings: the urban aristocracy (including *nobiltà di seggio* and *nobiltà fuori seggio*) and the feudal aristocracy (including *signori titolati*, *baroni*, and *nobili di città nelle province*).

Naples's Urban Aristocracy

Starting well before the reign of the Aragonese kings, the power and identity of Naples's urban aristocracy was developed on the basis of each family's origins and civic affiliation within a specific *seggio* (or neighborhood) of the kingdom's capital city.[201] Known by the names Capuana, Nido, Montagna, Porto, and Portanova, Naples's five *seggi* divided the urban space into individual sociopolitical territories—each with its own piazzas, churches, and chapels and each populated by a powerful group of elite families.[202] Lacking the traditional landowning status (and titles) of the feudal nobility, the families belonging to these *seggi* developed their power—and ultimately became a new kind of aristocracy—through a process of what Giuliana Vitale has called *anoblissement*.[203] During this process, largely taking place between the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, citizens of the Neapolitan *seggi* provided services to the Angevin crown, which, in a way not dissimilar to their Aragonese successors, was plagued by political instability. Thus, by providing invaluable financial and military resources to a dynasty mired in conflict, many elite families furthered their sociopolitical standing not only in the kingdom's cap-

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200 "Ciascuno di questi gruppi rappresenta . . . livelli diversi della gerarchia nobiliare, assume dinamiche sociali e anche demografiche differenziate, . . . e ciononostante gli intrecci fra queste diverse sfere risultano molteplici e intricati." Visceglia, *Identità sociali*, 89.

201 Giuliana Vitale argues that a given family's genealogical ties and history of residence in their specific *seggio* became key factors in legitimizing a type of culturally ascribed indigenous blood right to their membership and political currency in the urban aristocracy. Vitale, *Élite burocratica e famiglia*, 155–60.

202 Visceglia, *Identità sociali*, 91. See also John Marino's discussion of the link between identity and place in medieval and Renaissance Naples, as he states: "Who one was [in Naples] was inextricably linked to where one was from." Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan*, 1–8.

203 Vitale, *Élite burocratica e famiglia*, 27.

ital, but, thanks to the feudal lands often granted them by the crown, also in the kingdom at large.[204]

The basis of their noble status was thus rooted in their continued service to the crown, as military captains, functionaries, and bureaucrats, and the crown, in turn, relied on their stable and consistent support. Well into the fifteenth century, this mutually beneficial rapport between the ruling power and the urban aristocracy of Naples became an integral part of the political landscape during the Aragonese dynasty. Indeed, as I have mentioned throughout the present chapter, members of the urban aristocracy in Aragonese Naples—such as Iacopo Sannazaro and Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro—had various bureaucratic and military roles in service to the crown. In addition to his various administrative duties in the service of the Duke and Duchess of Calabria at the Castel Capuano, for example, Sannazaro—of the *seggio di Portanova*—was also mentioned with the title of "capitanio" in Ferraiolo's *Cronaca della Napoli aragonese*.[205] Similarly, De Jennaro belonged to one of the oldest noble families of the *seggio di Porto* and served as both a state functionary and captain in two of the kingdom's rural provinces: the Contado di Molise and Basilicata.[206] Leading multifaceted careers typical of the *nobiltà di seggio*, both men were also humanist poets and members of the *Accademia Pontaniana*, where they came into contact with intellectuals from a variety of local and foreign backgrounds. Indeed, in both their administrative and cultural lives, urban *nobiltà di seggio*, like Sannazaro and De Jennaro, frequently interacted with court aristocrats, who were brought to Naples from foreign lands, such as Spain and northern Italy, and who lacked affiliation with one of the coveted Neapolitan *seggi*. As I discussed in the section dealing with King Ferrante's patronage, these members of the *nobiltà fuori seggio*—one of which was the Umbrian humanist and royal secretary Giovanni Pontano—were eventually encouraged to develop stronger ties to the ancient ruling families of the city's urban aristocracy through intermarriage with women belonging to the *nobiltà di seggio*.

Among aristocrats living and serving as royal functionaries in Naples, the highest standing was given to those who became *familiares* or *fideles* of the Aragonese crown. Described by Pontano as "familiares, quique aulici hodie vocantur," these closely held members of the court served as counselors to and proponents of the

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204 For more detail on the specific circumstances of this process of *anoblissement* among Naples's urban aristocracy, see ibid., 27–81.

205 New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M 801, fol. 121v. This citation is in the context of a civic uprising in August of 1495 over the fraught dynastic succession of King Federico and the outside pressures from the French. See also the edition of this text in Ferraiolo, *Una cronaca napoletana figurata*, 168.

206 On the specifics of De Jennaro's career see Niccoli, "DE GENNARO"; and Maria Corti's introduction to Corti, *Rime e lettere*, i–xv.

crown and, as such, took on a special role in building their patron's image.[207] Indeed, as Giuliana Vitale has argued, the Aragonese court *familiares*—such as Pontano himself—became "almost instruments of communication between the Kingdom and its rulers, significant architects of the princely image to be presented to the collective consciousness."[208] In addition to their administrative responsibilities, then, intellectual and cultural leaders in the city of Naples had a symbiotic relationship with their royal patrons, guiding them through the treacherous waters of local and foreign politics while simultaneously shaping and reflecting their intellectual and artistic programs. Indeed, as King Ferrante, as well as his son and daughter-in-law Alfonso d'Aragona and Ippolita Sforza, invested more and more in vernacular literature and secular music-making at court, so too did members of the urban aristocracy become increasingly active (and open) in their production and performance of Neapolitan lyric song.

A telling example of this connection between court patronage and the musico-poetic activity among Neapolitan aristocrats comes in De Jennaro's *Le sei etate de la vita umana* (ca. 1496–1507).[209] Written in *terza rima* (and filled with Dantean references), De Jennaro's poem is organized in six "ages" of the human life: *Infanzia*, *Puerizia*, *Adolescenza*, *Giovinezza*, *Vecchiezza*, and *Decrepitezza*. In progressing through the poem, De Jennaro covers a variety of topics necessary to a life well lived, from love and music in *Adolescenza* and the desire for glory and literary excellence in *Giovinezza* to princely and domestic comportment in *Vecchiezza* and, finally, wisdom and beatitude in *Decreptizza*. Accompanying the poem are thirteen dedicatory letters placed throughout five of the six ages (the only one without a letter is *Infanzia*).[210] These letters are addressed to a mix of Aragonese and Neapolitan figures connected to the royal court (and still alive) at the turn of the sixteenth century, including for example: the aristocrat Bernardo Castriota, Duke of Ferrandina and Count of Copertino (letter 1); King Ferrante I's son, the cardinal Don Luigi d'Aragona (letter 3); the aristocrat Giovan Battista Spinelli, Count of Cariati (letter 5); and the son of King Federico I (r. 1496–1501) and grandson of King Ferrante I, the Duke of Calabria Ferdinando d'Aragona (letter 8).[211] Juxtaposed with

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207 In his *De principe* (dedicated to Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, in preparation for his future succession to the throne), Pontano emphasizes the importance of the prince's behavior and standing among his *familiares*, such that they would have only the best opinion of his character and leadership. See the edition in Cappelli, *Per l'edizione critica del "De Principe."*

208 "quasi strumenti della comunicazione tra il potere ed il Paese, artefici non secondari dell'immagine del principe da proporre all'immaginario collettivo." Vitale, *Élite burocratica e famiglia*, 73.

209 For a historical analysis and dating of this text, see Montuori, "Le 'Sei età de la vita.'" For a modern publication of this work (though lacking in critical apparatus), see De Jennaro, *Le sei etate*.

210 Strangely, only a few of these letters are reproduced in Altamura and Basile's 1976 edition of the work (De Jennaro, *Le sei etate*), but they are discussed with a level of profound philological detail in Montuori, "Le 'Sei età de la vita.'"

211 These letters appear in the following chapters, respectively: *Puerizia*, *Adolescenza* (section on music), *Giovinezza* (section of the desire for glory), and *Vecchiezza* (section on princely comportment).

these dedicatory letters are the poem's interlocutors, who seem to represent a deep nostalgia for the glories of a now bygone era in the kingdom's history and one of whom is none other than the beloved—but sadly deceased since 1488—Duchess of Calabria Ippolita Sforza.[212] In addition to his revealing dedications and references to prominent members of the Aragonese court, De Jennaro also provides a sort of performance rubric for the poem as a whole in his thirteenth letter (dedicated to the Cardinal of Naples, and member of the urban aristocracy, Oliviero Carafa), where—addressing the letter's dedicatee—he states: "you will be able to have those [verses] recited, pleasing you in your leisure time, by any well-taught minister of the Thracian Orpheus and the beautiful and learned Muses singing with the sweet and harmonious *plectrum*."[213] Thus, De Jennaro, an urban aristocrat, poet, and humanist of the *Accademia*, recommends an oral recitation of his *terza rima* to the accompaniment of a plucked string instrument—a style wholly in keeping with what we know of the Neapolitan lyric tradition and one that, in this case, seems to apply to a wide range of courtly figures, both Aragonese royal and Neapolitan *familiares*.

The Kingdom's Feudal Aristocracy

A competing power to both the urban aristocracy and the crown alike manifested itself in the Kingdom of Naples's feudal aristocracy. Made up of a combination of simple *baroni* and noble *signori titolati*, the kingdom's landowning classes exercised significant power in governing and collecting taxes from within their own territories and, thus, posed a considerable political and economic threat to the Aragonese kings. Baronial titles covered a range of levels from the more modest counts to marquises, dukes, and finally, the most powerful, princes. Their landholdings ranged in size and quality on a level comparable to their titles. On the more modest end, for example, the Count of Popoli Giovanni Cantelmo controlled the territories surrounding the town of Popoli (in what is now the province of Pescara in Abruzzo), which had at one time been part of a larger dukedom controlled by his brother, the Duke of Sora, Pietro Giampaolo Cantelmo.[214] In contrast, Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo was a powerful baronial prince, who came to control a series of sprawling territories that encompassed the entirety of

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212 Ippolita appears during the discussion of modesty (or *pudicizia*) in chapters 11 and 12 of *Adolescenza*. See De Jennaro, *Le sei etate*, 94–104.

213 "quelli [versi] d'alcuno bene ystructo ministro del tracio Orpheo e de le amene e docte Muse col dolce et accordato pletro cantando, per recreatione del vivere farsele podrà piacendole recetare." Letter 13, lines 63–65; quoted in Montuori, "Le 'Sei età de la vita,'" 186.

214 Giovanni Cantelmo, as a patron of lyric poetry, will be discussed in more detail in part IV. On the dukedom of Sora and the struggle over the countship of Popoli, see the biographical sketch of Feola, "CANTELMO."

the provinces of Terra di Bari and Terra di Otranto (which combined make up the modern-day Italian region of Puglia) as well as the eastern half of Basilicata. Developing his vast dominion into what amounted to a self-contained political state, around 1460 he even began to mint his own money.[215]

Members of the kingdom's feudal aristocracy, thus, held varying levels of power, which the Aragonese kings sought to either appropriate or contain depending on the circumstances. Knowing that Orsini Del Balzo's power was too great to be challenged, for instance, Ferrante married his niece Isabella di Chiaromonte in 1445, shortly after his father Alfonso I came to power. Furthermore, over the course of their reign, the Aragonese kings slowly worked to centralize power in the capital by reappropriating the lands of problematic barons and granting them to faithful servants of the crown.[216] Such efforts to divest the feudal aristocracy of its not insignificant power did not go unnoticed and often led to conflict. The frustrations of the landowning classes were based on two main issues of disenfranchisement: first, the rise of the urban aristocracy's political power, which was often rewarded with lands seized from the feudal barons (creating Visceglia's fifth category of *nobili di città nelle province*); and second, the external royal pressures in the management of their remaining landholdings due to changes in the administration of the *dogana delle pecore*. The first issue ultimately created tensions for both urban and feudal aristocracy because it blurred the lines among differing levels within the kingdom's social hierarchy. As Vitale explains,

> this means that, on the one hand, more and more *baroni titolati* were implanted into the seggi, and, on the other, that certain bloodlines that were already based in those *seggi* were promoted to the ranks of the mid- and high-level feudal aristocracy.[217]

This shifting socio-political landscape disrupted local power structures, creating what Vitale has called a "crisi del ceto" or "class crisis" that resulted in a level of economic, political, and cultural instability that ultimately benefited the crown in its efforts to centralize power in the kingdom's capital.[218]

The second issue has to do with the management of lands and the role that the kingdom's landowners played in the business of sheep herding over the course of

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215 On Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo, see Kiesewetter, "ORSINI DEL BALZO."

216 Since the barons whose land was taken were essentially forced to move from their homes to the capital city of Naples, Galasso refers to this phenomenon as "un vero e proprio imborghesimento del baronaggio" ("a true bourgeoisification of the baronage"). See Galasso, *Napoli capitale*, 79–86 (at 80).

217 "Ciò significa che, da una parte, furono immessi nei Seggi sempre più numerosi i baroni titolati e, dall'altra, che alcuni lignaggi che già vi erano incardinati furono promossi nei ranghi della media e grande feudalità." Vitale, *Élite burocratica e famiglia*, 31.

218 Ibid.

the fifteenth century. As John Marino outlined in his groundbreaking study *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples*, when Alfonso I came to power in 1442, feudal landowners had wide-ranging rights in the management of, and especially the taxes garnered from, their own lands that dated back to a 1423 charter put in place by Queen Giovanna II, the last of the Angevin monarchs.[219] As Marino notes, with this charter "privilege and prerogative were still in the hands of the private property owners who continued to control the disposition and price of their pasture."[220] By 1447, however, Alfonso had drawn up a new charter, which expanded the powers of the state-run *dogana delle pecore* (or sheep customhouse) to oversee the distribution and prices of privately owned pastures and thus control the fiscal management of feudal lands. Enforced by a new Catalan *doganiero* Francesco Montluber loyal to the crown, Marino explains, "Alfonso's policy of institutionalization and centralization halted the fragmentation of the countryside into the private domains of semi-independent barons."[221] The broad reach of this centralizing policy, originating from what Marino calls "a kind of 'colonial' occupation," disenfranchised and marginalized the feudal aristocracy in favor of a foreign-ruled monarchical government.

Nor was this type of "colonial" disenfranchisement limited to economic concerns. Another significant way in which the Aragonese kings asserted their control over the feudal aristocracy was by seizing their personal libraries and other valuable possessions after taking over their provincial lands and accompanying estates. The greatest catalyst for this confiscation was the *congiura dei baroni* against King Ferrante In 1485, during which a rebellious group of barons allied themselves with the papacy and Venice (and eventually France) in order to overthrow the Aragonese king and reassert control over their feudal territories.[222] As discussed earlier in the chapter, once Ferrante subdued this uprising, he went on to exact his revenge on the conspirators in two key ways: first, by imprisoning and putting the major players in the conspiracy to death; and second by seizing their lands and valuables, many of which were eventually re-homed at the Castel Nuovo in Naples. As documented in the *Supplemento* to Tammaro De Marinis's multi-volume *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, the books of five such conspirators were confiscated by Ferrante and added to his royal library: Giovanni Caracciolo, Duke of Melfi; Angilberto Del Balzo, Duke of Ducente; Pietro Di Guevara, Prince of Sirignano

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219 Marino, *Pastoral Economics*, 20–21.

220 Ibid., 21.

221 Ibid., 21–22.

222 The *congiura dei baroni* has been a topic of scholarly discussion since Camillo Porzio wrote the first chronicle narrating its events, which was published in Rome in 1565. For a modern edition of this chronicle, see Porzio, *La congiura de' baroni*. Other scholarship on this topic includes Perito, *La congiura dei Baroni*; Pontieri, *La politica mediceo-fiorentina*; Fuda, "Nuovi documenti sulla congiura."

and Marquis of Vasto; Antonello Petrucci (or de Petruciis), Count of Policastro and father to Giovanni Antonio (who was also imprisoned and executed by Ferrante following the *congiura*, as discussed at the start of this part); and Girolamo Sanseverino, Prince of Bisignano.[223] From Classical Latin texts (and their "mixed Neapolitan" translations) to books of music to collections of Neapolitan lyric poetry, the substantial libraries of these powerful barons reveal their high level of engagement with the kingdom's contemporary intellectual and artistic practices.[224] Indeed, in a noteworthy example from 1494, which I will discuss further in part IV, the confiscation of the Cantelmo library (originally curated by the Count of Popoli Giovanni Cantelmo) resulted in the addition of a major collection of Neapolitan lyric (known as the *Cansonero napoletano*) to the royal library.[225] By taking possession of these libraries and absorbing their contents into the centralized institution of the Aragonese royal library at the Castel Nuovo, Ferrante did not just rob these barons of their cultural heritage; he claimed it for his own enrichment and benefit.

Neapolitan Networks in the Aragonese Kingdom

Following these centralizing efforts by the crown, the various levels of the aristocratic hierarchy became increasingly intertwined, as Visceglia explains: "the nobility of the *seggio*, the nobility outside the [*seggio*], the *signori titolati*, and the baronage were not thus, in any sense, autonomous spheres, but . . . a system of integrated relationships of interdependence."[226] In both the city of Naples and the kingdom at large, nowhere was this phenomenon more evident than in their communal practice and patronage of the musical and literary arts. I will conclude this section with case studies of two different heterogeneous socio-political networks: the *Accademia Pontaniana* in the city of Naples and the musical and literary circles connected to feudal court of the Guevara in the province of Basilicata.[227]

Developed out of the private literary evenings held at the Castel Nuovo by King Alfonso I and Antonio Beccadelli (Panormita) in the earliest years of Aragonese rule,

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223 See De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana: Supplemento*, 1:145–259.

224 For additional scholarship on the various libraries within the Kingdom of Naples, see the essays in Corfiati and De Nichilo, *Biblioteche nel Regno*, as well as De Frede, "Biblioteche e cultura."

225 The Cantelmo library was confiscated following the arrest of Giovanni's son (and successor) Restaino, who pledged his loyalty to the French after Ferrante's death, as Alfonso II (Ferrante's son) attempted to claim the throne. See the discussion of this manuscript (Paris 1035) and the larger Cantelmo library in part IV.

226 "Nobiltà di seggio, nobiltà fuori piazza, signori titolati, baronaggio non erano dunque in alcun modo sfere autonome ma . . . un sistema di integrate relazioni d'interdipendenza." Visceglia, *Identità sociali*, 105.

227 A third such network—led by Giovanni Cantelmo and exemplified in the lyric collection of the *Cansonero napoletano*—will be discussed in more detail in part IV.

the Neapolitan academy went through several transitional stages before it would ultimately become known as the *Accademia Pontaniana*. In the first big shift following Alfonso I's death in 1458, it was moved outside the castle and opened up to a wider public.[228] During this time, intellectual discussions and gatherings were hosted under the Roman arches (or portico) near Panormita's home on Via Nilo in Naples, sometimes referred to as the *Porticus Antoniana*, where passersby could easily observe or even join in the conversation.[229] As Giovanni Pontano attests in his 1491 dialogue *Antonius*:

> This, I say, is the portico in which the most companionable of all old men used to sit. Learned men and nobles as well gathered in considerable numbers. He [Panormita] himself, because he lived nearby, was the first to be seen here in the interval while the "Senate," as he liked to call it, was assembling, either jesting with passersby or chanting something to himself for his own amusement.[230]

Within such a loosely defined structure, what was once a private meeting of the courtly elite within the confines of the royal library became an open and ever-changing community of intellectuals, whose discussions and performances were part of Naples's broader urban soundscape. Following Panormita's death in 1471, leadership of the academy was taken over by Giovanni Pontano, establishing the beginning of the *Accademia Pontaniana*.

Pontano's academy had a more closed structure than Panormita's. Rather than using a public outdoor space like the *Porticus Antoniana*, academy meetings took place in a variety of Pontano's privately owned—and, therefore, more carefully regulated—indoor and outdoor spaces in and around the city of Naples, including: the "Torre d'Arco," his house on Via dei Tribunali in the center of Naples; the "Villa Antiniana," his villa and gardens in the Vomero neighborhood overlooking the city center; and the "tempietto," Pontano's intimate family chapel nearby his home in the city.[231] Despite the more controlled character of these meeting places, however, membership in the academy remained variable in that it did not have to be formally declared and was open to scholars of any background. Characterizing the *Accademia Pontaniana* as a "*network* of humanists" rather than a "*circumscribed*

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228 On these various shifts, see Furstenberg-Levi, *The Accademia Pontaniana*, 57–75.

229 Panormita's home on Via Nilo was around the corner from the portico on Via dei Tribunali. For more on his house, see Ferrajoli, *Napoli monumentale*, 156–62. On the *Porticus Antoniana* more generally, see also Holt Parker's introduction to Beccadelli, *The Hermaphrodite*, xxi.

230 "Haec, inquam, illa est porticus in qua sedere solebat ille senum omnium festivissimus. Conveniebant autem docti viri nobilesque item homines sane multi. Ipse, quod in proximo habitaret, primus hic conspici interim, dum Senatus, ut ipse usurpabat, cogeretur, aut iocans cum praetereuntibus aut secum aliquid succinens, quo animum oblectaret." Original Latin and English translation from the facing-page edition in Pontano, *Charon and Antonius*, 124–25.

231 For a discussion and description of each of these meeting places, see Furstenberg-Levi, *The Accademia Pontaniana*, 62–68.

group," Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi has addressed the difficulty of establishing a definitive list of its wide-ranging and varied membership and, instead, reconstructs a "core group" of consistently mentioned names from lists of humanists that appear in contemporary letters, historical works, dialogues, and dedications.[232] This "core group" (reproduced below) constitutes a kind of base membership in the academy—or "minimal list," in the words of Furstenberg-Levi—to which many other humanists living in or passing through Naples could have been added on a more or less consistent basis:[233]

> Giovanni Pontano, Pietro Golino (*detto* Compater), Enrico Poderico, Gabriele Altilio, Iacopo Sannazaro, Giovanni Pardo, Benedetto Gareth (*detto* Cariteo), Girolamo Carbone, Marino Tomacelli, Michele Marullo, Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, Belisario Acquaviva, Tristano Caracciolo, Crisostomo Colonna, Antonio de Ferrariis (*detto* Galateo), Francesco Elio Marchese, Luigi Gallucio (*detto* Elisio Calenzio), and Pietro Summonte.[234]

Taken together, this group is reflective of Naples's heterogeneity in several key ways.[235] The humanists listed here come from a variety of different places (both within and outside the Kingdom), social classes, and educational backgrounds. Some are from the city of Naples (Sannazaro, Caracciolo, Summonte), while others are from the kingdom's rural provinces (the Acquaviva brothers and Galateo), and still others are from outside the kingdom altogether, including Pontano himself from Umbria, Cariteo and Pardo from Spain, and Marullo from Greece. Beyond their intellectual interests, the common denominator among them seems to have been their service to the crown—a significant factor in the convergence of diverse groups of intellectuals, artists, musicians, and politicians throughout the Aragonese dynasty. Moreover, their educational backgrounds run the gamut from theological and religious education (Altilio and Colonna) to university education in law or medicine (Calenzio and Galateo, respectively) to no formal education at all (the Acquaviva brothers and Caracciolo, among others).[236] Given these diverse backgrounds, relationships among members in the academy were founded on the guiding principles of friendship and mentorship in the study and recitation of Classical and newly composed Latin literature.[237]

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232 Furstenberg-Levi, *The Accademia Pontaniana*, 47–57 (at 57 and 49, respectively).

233 Ibid., 52.

234 This list is reproduced from Furstenberg-Levi's reconstruction (with some modifications to include complete names and nicknames) in ibid.

235 Furstenberg-Levi addresses these differences and the cultural implications of them in detail. See ibid., 52–54.

236 Full-length biographies of these various figures can be found in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Brief biographical sketches of each one can also be found in appendix 2 to Furstenberg-Levi, *The Accademia Pontaniana*, 180–94.

237 See ibid., 55–57.

Indeed, within this complex and varied intellectual network, a sense of community and friendship developed around a common humanistic interest in the ancient world, and that interest manifested itself most meaningfully in the sung recitation of lyric poetry.[238] References to lyric song performance abound in the Latin writings of Pontanian humanists; yet, in spite of its vernacular text,[239] nowhere is the bond between lyric song and communal performance more apparent than in the ancient pastoral world of Iacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. As I discussed in part I, many of the shepherds who populate Sannazaro's Arcadian landscape can be identified with members of the *Accademia Pontaniana*, and their performances and subsequent discussions mirror the combination of public reading and commentary of Classical and contemporary lyric texts that was typical of academy meetings. As the shepherds wander the pastoral lands of Arcadia, they engage in a variety of song styles—including solo love songs, friendly singing competitions or lyric dialogues between two or more shepherds, and even a funeral lament—in genres that range from *terza rima* to *frottole*[240] to *madrigali* to a variety of Petrarchan *canzoni*. In each case, even when a shepherd seems to sing alone, the performance is inevitably a communal effort.

The solo performance by Galicio of a Petrarchan *canzone* in *Egloga III* is one such example. While the previous two eclogues both feature polymetric dialogues between two shepherds,[241] *Egloga III* is the first instance in which a shepherd performs alone, singing in the more sophisticated lyric style of a Petrarchan *canzone*.[242] In contrast with the more communal performances of the first two eclogues,

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238 Singing lyric poetry was considered the height of artistic expression in humanist circles throughout Renaissance Italy, and especially in Florence, with humanist intellectuals like the philosopher Marsilio Ficino and poet Angelo Poliziano. For more on this, see, for example, Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, esp. 1–36; Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, esp. 101–27.

239 While most academy members in the "core group" discussed above wrote exclusively in Latin, two of them were equally, if not more, well known for their vernacular works: Cariteo and Sannazaro. Most notably, both of these men engage with the Neapolitan lyric tradition in different ways: Cariteo in his sung performance of *strambotti* (see part V) and Sannazaro in his both portrayal of lyric performance in *Arcadia* (see part I and discussion below) and his interpolation of musical performance in his *farse* (mentioned earlier in this part) performed on special occasions at the Aragonese court.

240 In this case, I am referring to the literary *frottola*, which here is made up of a series of hendecasyllabic verses propelled forward by the use of *rima al mezzo*.

241 *Egloga I* features a dialogue between Ergasto and Selvaggio that alternates between the meters of *terza rima* and *frottola* with *rima al mezzo*. *Egloga II* features another polymetric dialogue between Montano and Uranio, shifting lyric registers regularly from *terza rima* to *frottole* to *madrigali* and more. See Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 67–75 and 81–91. It is also worth mentioning here that the first two eclogues were composed during the very first redactions of *Arcadia* in the early 1480s, while *Ecloga III* was composed as part of the full *prosimetrum* at a much later stage in the work's composition.

242 This particular *canzone* is modeled after Petrarca's *Rvf* 125, "Se 'l pensier che mi strugge" with six strophes (following the rhyme scheme abCabCcdeeDff) and a congedo (Yzz). See CXXV in Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, 1:576–86. For a diplomatic edition replicating Petrarch's original layout of

Ecgloga III certainly marks a significant transitional moment: from the conversational to the introspective, from the bucolic to the lyric, and ultimately, as Carlo Vecce notes, "from the collective festivity of nature to the individuality of a single shepherd."[243] Yet, notwithstanding this newfound emphasis on solo performance, this first "solo" eclogue is nonetheless framed within the collective spirit of the academy. First of all, although Galicio may be the only one singing, the conclusion of *Prosa III* demonstrates that he is most certainly not alone:

> In the middle of the flowers, we found many very graceful shepherdesses, who moved step by step making new garlands. And placing those [garlands] upon their blond hair in a thousand different ways, each one strove to surpass the gifts of nature with [her] masterful art. Among them, Galicio, saw the one that perhaps he loved the most; and *without being asked by any of us*, after several of the most ardent sighs, with Eugenio *accompanying him on the sampogna*, he thus began to sing sweetly, *all others falling silent*.

> Per mezzo dei quali [fiori] trovammo molte pastorelle leggiadrissime, che di passo in passo si andavano facendo nove ghirlandette; e quelle in mille strane maniere ponendosi sovra li biondi capelli, si sforzava ciascuna con maestrevole arte di superare le dote de la natura. Fra le quali Galicio veggendo forse quella che più amava, *senza essere da alcuno di noi pregato*, dopo alquanti sospiri ardentissimi, *sonandogli il suo Eugenio la sampogna*, così suavemente cominciò a cantare, *tacendo ciascuno*.[244]

A source of inspiration for Galicio's song, the *pastorelle leggiadrissime* weave artful garlands out of the natural beauty of wild flowers, as Sannazaro once again underscores the nature–artifice binary at the heart of his aesthetic program. Upon seeing his most beloved among them, Galicio begins to sing unprompted by his companions, yet also spurred on by their encouraging silence. Furthermore, and most significantly, his friend Eugenio accompanies him on the *sampogna*. Galicio's performance actively involves at least one other person, then—one who is so sensitive to his friend's lyric impulse that he begins to play without any special request, responding extemporaneously to his "sospiri ardentissimi." In this way, the musical rendering of the song, in particular, underscores an intimate connection between two performers, making it impossible for Galicio to be completely alone in his performance. With a combination of silent attentive listening and wordless

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the *canzone* in the holograph manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 3195, see *Rvf* 125 in Storey, Walsh, and Magni, "Rerum vulgarium fragmenta."

243 "Il canto di Galicio 'solo' marca il passaggio dalla festa collettiva della natura all'individualità del singolo pastore." Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 107. Vecce also makes the point that the former (collective festivity) is a typical trait of Neapolitan lyric while the latter (individuality and lyric expression) reveals the strong influence that Petrarchism came to have in Sannazaro's poetry. Furthermore, he suggests that such lyric song (modeled after Petrarch) might also stand in for the Classical and humanistic Latin lyric that was often performed among members of the *Accademia Pontaniana*.

244 Ibid., 101 (italics added).

musical accompaniment, Galicio's companions thus surround him with their collective friendship and support.

Their engagement with the performance is further emphasized at the opening of the following *Prosa IV*, where their reactions and commentary are narrated as follows:

> Galicio's song was marvelously pleasing to everyone, but for different reasons. Some praised his youthful voice, full of inestimable harmony; others his smooth and sweet musical setting [*modo*], fit to entrap whatever state of mind might be most contrary to love; many commended his rhymes, [which were] elegant and unusual among rustic shepherds; and there were also those who extolled the extremely shrewd wisdom of his prudence, for which [reason] he said "the month before April" [when he was] forced to name the month [that is] damaging to shepherds and their flocks (since [he is] wise to avoid a sinister omen on such a happy day).

> Piacque maravigliosamente a ciascuno il cantare di Galicio, ma per diverse maniere. Alcuni lodarono la giovenil voce piena di armonia inextimabile; altri il modo suavissimo e dolce, apto ad irretire qualunque animo stato fusse più ad amore ribello; molti comendarono le rime leggiadre e tra' rustici pastori non usitate; e di quelli ancora vi furono, che con più admirazione extolsero la acutissima sagacità del suo advedimento, il quale constretto di nominare il mese a' greggi et a' pastori dannoso (sì come saggio evitatore di sinestro augurio in sì lieto giorno) disse "il mese inanzi aprile."[245]

Here, in what appears to be an allegoricized scene from a meeting of the *Accademia*, the shepherds provide a cogent and organized commentary of Galicio's song. With great appreciation, they react and respond to several different elements of the performance: his harmonious *vocal timbre* ("la giovenil voce"), the appropriateness and effectiveness of the *musical intonation or setting* ("il modo suavissimo e dolce") in eliciting the spirit of love in his listeners,[246] the elegant and sophisticated *lyric style* ("le rime leggiadre") that stood out against the bucolic songs of his companions, and the *wisdom and prudence* ("la acutissima sagacità del suo advedimento") employed in avoiding a certain ominous turn of phrase in performance.[247] It happens, then, that Galicio's companions are not only supportive, but thoughtful and discerning in their support. And, by providing this level of detail regarding

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245 Ibid., 108.

246 This ability to affect the emotions or passions through music is something that is a frequent point of consideration in humanist lyric practice. This is especially the case in the writings of Marsilio Ficino, but it also comes up in the writings of Neapolitan humanists like Galateo, as I will discuss below. On Ficino, see Voss, "Marsilio Ficino"; Brancacci, "Una poetica del canto."

247 The shepherds here are praising Galicio because he avoids naming the month of March, which is unlucky for shepherds (and their sheep), in verses 7 to 8 of *Egloga III*: "he sang the third day / of the month before April" ("cantava il terzo giorno / del mese inanzi aprile"). See Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 103.

the shepherds' commentary, Sannazaro lays out a blueprint for what were likely the main elements to be judged and appreciated in a lyric song performance.

As I mentioned earlier, the first redactions of *Arcadia* were composed in the early 1480s, while Sannazaro was working for the Duke and Duchess of Calabria at the Castel Capuano. It was then revised and completed in its full *prosimetrum* structure at the height of Sannazaro's activities as a member of the *Accademia Pontaniana* in the 1490s.[248] As the product of two distinct intellectual environments, *Arcadia* mixes together the "collective festivity" of Neapolitan vernacular song (performed at the Castel Capuano) with the sophistication and elegance of Classical Latin poetry (recited during meetings of the *Accademia Pontaniana*). A humanist interest in reviving the ancient world is thus intertwined with the very real people and circumstances of late-Quattrocento Naples. As I discussed in part I, this work—and others like it—also functions as a kind of self-ethnography, recording and historicizing the largely oral tradition of improvised lyric that was practiced in various contexts throughout the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples. Sannazaro thus legitimizes a local musico-poetic tradition within the aesthetic context of a Classicizing literary work, rooted in the pastoral vein. But, beyond its origins in the Classical works of Theocritus and Virgil, what gives the pastoral such power? The answer lies in the economic tensions between the Aragonese crown and noble Neapolitan landowners—many of whom, I might add, were connected to the intellectual circles surrounding the Castel Capuano and the *Accademia Pontaniana*. In a historical moment when feudal landholders were losing power over their own lands, which were in turn being made available (and more affordable) to real-life shepherds, the allegorical setting of *Arcadia* reclaims the rural lands that they once controlled. Sannazaro's transformation of his network of friends into bucolic shepherds is thus a subversive act of territorial reappropriation, even if only in a fictional world, and his portrayal of song performance within that world casts the communal practice of singing lyric as a significant and fundamentally Neapolitan art form.

Not all feudal aristocrats were divested of their lands and estates, however. In fact, those who succeeded in proving their loyalty to the crown were able to maintain courts of their own, many of which engaged in their own musical and literary patronage.[249] One such court was that of the Guevara family in Potenza (Basili-

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248 On the dating of the genesis and various redactions of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, see the introductions to two different editions of the work: Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 43–46; and Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Erspamer, 6–13.

249 Gianluca D'Agostino has made this a minor point in his "Note sulla carriera napoletana di Johannes Tinctoris," where he writes of "a discreet musical coterie gravitating around the baronial courts [of Naples]" ("un discreto cenacolo musicale gravitante intorno a corti baronali"). D'Agostino, "Note sulla carriera napoletana," 355.

cata).[250] Beginning with the *gran seneschal* Iñigo de Guevara (1418–1462), music and dance were not only encouraged, but also, it would seem, practiced with some skill among members of the Guevara family. Originally from the Iberian peninsula and of noble blood, Iñigo de Guevara was one of Alfonso I's closest advisors in the early years of his reign, and Alfonso rewarded him for his friendship and loyalty with a collection of feudal lands and their corresponding signorial titles: Marquis of Vasto, Count of Ariano, Count of Potenza, and Count of Apice.[251] One of only two Spanish-born members of the kingdom's feudal aristocracy,[252] Iñigo had a privileged relationship with the Aragonese crown, and his court became a center for musical and literary circles to meet. Indeed, his musical abilities are even attested retrospectively by the Neapolitan humanist (and member of the *Accademia Pontaniana*) Tristano Caracciolo in his *De varietate fortunae* written sometime after 1509:

> Among Alfonso I's retinue had come Iñigo de Guevara—a Spanish knight of noble birth, yet with no title of honor, truly dear especially to the king. He was, in fact, one who graced the royal court the most. Naturally, he handled arms admirably, [and he was] devoted to horses, which he understood how to lead and control properly. [*He was*] *not lacking experience in music* [*and was*] *sufficiently adept in singing and dancing with manly dignity.*[253]

Remembered thus for his satisfactory, but not expert, skill in singing and dancing "ad virilem dignitatem" (or "with manly dignity"), Iñigo de Guevara represents an early example of amateur musicianship among the kingdom's feudal aristocracy—one that served, no doubt, as a model for his son Antonio as he took over the title of Count of Potenza following his father's death in 1462.

Antonio de Guevara's court in Potenza was, similarly to his father's, a center for the musical and literary arts, providing a key point of connection between the oral practice of singing lyric poetry and the written traditions of music theory and polyphony. The fruits of that musico-poetic intermingling were underscored by Vincenzo Colli (*detto* Calmeta) in his *Vita del facondo poeta vulgare Serafino Aquilano* (ca. 1503):

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250 On the musical patronage and skills of various members of the Guevara family, see Galiano, "Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza."

251 On Iñigo de Guevara's arrival in Naple and connection to Alfonso, see Croce, *La Spagna*, 36–37. More generally, see Ryder, "GUEVARA."

252 The other was the Valencian Garcia Cabanillas, Count of Troia. See Galiano, "Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza," 294, n. 60.

253 "Venerat Alphonsi primi in comitatu Innicus de Guevara eques Hispanus, genere nobilis, nullo tamen insignis titulo, verum in primis regis carus. Erat enim qui maxime honestaret regiam; quippe arma egregie tractabat, equorum studiosus, quos agere moderarique probe callebat; *musicae non expers, cantare saltareque ad virilem dignitatem satis aptus.*" Caracciolo, "De varietate fortunae," 94 (italics added).

> This boy [the twelve-year-old Serafino], not having yet properly learned the first rudiments of grammar, was brought to the Kingdom of Naples by an uncle of his named Paulo, *who gave him over to the Count of Potenza as his page*, since he had management of that house. This Count was a distinguished prince, and it happens that he was in the flowering of his youth; he was, no less, so inclined toward every virtue that his whole family, following in their lord's footsteps, strove to emulate whoever was best able to grasp some virtue. Within this praiseworthy gymnasium [*palestra*][254] (since the exercises were diverse) *Serafino dedicated himself to music under the tutelage of a certain Gulielmo Fiammengo, who was at that time an extremely famous musician*. Dismissed then back to his hometown, where he resided for three years, he arranged to learn all of Petrarch's sonnets, *canzoni*, and *Trionfi*, with which he was not only extremely familiar, but he set them to music so well that, to hear them sung by him to the lute, they surpassed every other harmony.[255]

One of the foremost poet-improvisers of his time, Serafino Ciminelli dell'Aquila (1466–1500; hereafter Serafino Aquilano) spent a portion of his formative years, from 1478 to 1481, in the service of the Count of Potenza, Antonio Guevara.[256] During this time, Serafino chose—from among the many noble pursuits available at the Guevara court—to study music with the Franco-flemish music theorist and composer Guilielmus Guarnerius.[257] Armed with this new musical knowledge and skill, his subsequent study of Petrarchan lyric in Aquila culminated in his sung recitation of that poetry to the accompaniment of the lute—performances of such quality that "they surpassed every other harmony."

Given the legacy he left following his premature death in 1500, there can be no doubt that Serafino was a lyric performer of unusual talent. And his time at the Guevara court in Potenza would have provided him with the foundational mu-

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254 Here Calmeta is referring to a "gymnasium" or "palestra" in the figurative sense—that is, a place where one may practice or exercise in a variety of arts, usually in order to prove oneself. Perhaps a more idiomatic translation in English, then, might be "recreational arena" or "recreational forum."

255 "Costui [Serafino], non bene avuti ancora li primi erudimenti di grammatica, fu da uno suo zio chiamato Paulo nel Reame di Napoli menato, *il quale al Conte di Potenza il dede per paggio*, avendo lui di quella casa il governo. Era questo Conte notabile principe, e avvegna che fusse sul fiore di la gioventute, nientedimeno era ad ogni virtute tanto inclinato che tutta la soa famiglia, de li vestigi dil patrone imitatrice, con emulazione a chi più qualche virtute potteva amplettere se sforzava. Tra questa laudabile palestra (perché li essercizi erano diversi) *se dede Serafino alla musica sotto la erudizione d'uno Gulielmo Fiammengo, in quello tempo musico famosissimo*. Reddutto poi in la patria soa, ne la quale per tre anni fece dimora, ad imparar sonetti, canzoni e *Trionfi* dil Petrarca tutto se dispose, li quali non solo ebbe familiarissimi, ma tanto bene con la musica li accordava che, a sentirli da lui cantare nel liuto, ogni altra armonia superavano." Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 60 (italics added).

256 There are numerous studies on Serafino Aquilano of relevance to the present chapter. For a general biography, see Vigilante, "CIMINELLI." For studies focused specifically on Serafino's profile as a singer-improviser, see, among others, Bortoletti, "Serafino Aquilano"; Rossi, *Serafino Aquilano*.

257 As I noted above, Guarnerius was also in contact with several other music theorists and composers in the Kingdom of Naples during these years: Johannes Tinctoris, Franchino Gaffurio, and Bernard Ycart.

sical knowledge to make the most of that talent. Indeed, as Calmeta makes clear, Serafino's combined literary and musical skills were fundamental to his success as a performer: "In reciting his poems, he was so passionate and he folded the words together with the music with such good judgment that the spirits of [his] listeners, whether learned men or mediocre ones or plebeians or women, were equally moved."[258] This ability to move his listeners through a judicious joining together of words and music is not only founded on the musical knowledge he would have gained during his time in Potenza; it also epitomizes the markers of a successful lyric performance laid out in *Prosa IV* of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, as the shepherds respond to Galicio's Petrarchan song. By the early 1490s, after many years away, Serafino's return to Naples brought him into contact with members of the *Accademia Pontaniana*, and, in particular, with those who wrote in the vernacular in addition to Latin, including Sannazaro himself.[259] Given that Galicio's performance in *Egloga III* was composed around the same time, could it be that this new addition to Sannazaro's *prosimetrum* was on some level inspired by Serafino? Although Carlo Vecce has associated the Galicio's character with the Latinist Elisio Calenzio, Serafino's renowned skills as a singer of Petrarchan lyric make him a likely point of influence for an eclogue that portrays the improvised musical performance of a *canzone* modeled after Petrarch's *Rvf* 125.[260]

In addition to Guarnerius and Serafino, another major musical figure connected to Antonio de Guevara's court in the late 1470s was the music theorist Franchino Gaffurio.[261] In Naples from 1478 to 1480 in the service of the Doge of Genoa Prospero Adorno, Gaffurio became actively involved in musical circles both in the capital city and, it would seem, at the Guevara court in Basilicata.[262] As I discussed earlier, his biographer Pantaleone Melaguli attests that, during this time, Gaffurio engaged in stimulating musical discussions with a number of distinguished musicians, including, among others, Gulielmus Guarnerius who was known to have been in Potenza during precisely these years.[263] And one major product of this engaging musical environment was the completion of Gaffurio's treatise *Theoricum opus musice discipline*, the first of his theoretical works to be published in print (Naples: Francesco di Dino, 1480). Analyzed and discussed in detail in studies

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258 "Nel recitatare de' soi poemi era tanto ardente e con tanto giudizio le parole con la musica consertava che l'animo de li ascoltanti, o dotti o mediocri o plebei o donne, equalmente commoveva." Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 75–76.

259 See ibid., 67–68.

260 See Vecce's commentary in Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 103, n. 15 and 107.

261 On Gaffurio's connections to Antonio de Guevara's court, see Galiano, "Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza."

262 Prospero Adorno was in exile at the Aragonese court of Naples under political asylum during these years. See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 80. For a full biographical profile of Gaffurio, see Blackburn, "Gaffurius."

263 See full quotation of the passage from Melaguli's biography above.

by Cesarino Ruini and Carlo Galiano, the 1479 manuscript presentation copy of Gaffurio's *Theoricum opus* (preserved in London, British Library, Hirsh IV. 1441) was aimed at a very different readership than the printed version of 1480.[264] Copied on high quality parchment and decorated with the Guevara coat of arms, this autograph manuscript was dedicated to the Count of Potenza Antonio de Guevara himself, as follows: "The first part of the speculation on music by Franchino Gaffurio, lauded teacher of music [*musices professoris*], [is dedicated] to the noble and illustrious Don Antonio de Guevara, famed musician [*musicum clarissimum*]."[265] Lauded here as a "musicu[s] clarissimu[s]," Gaffurio's illustrious dedicatee appears to be the ideal patron for a music theorist. Not only was he well versed in the musical and literary arts and "ad ogni virtute tanto inclinato" ("so inclined toward every virtue"), as Calmeta would come to describe him; he was also, as the epigram to Gaffurio's presentation copy makes clear, in consistently good standing with both the Aragonese crown and the local Neapolitan people: "Ferrando regi charus populisque probatus" ("Dear to King Ferrante and esteemed by the people").[266]

Furthermore, Gaffurio's sojourn in Naples, and his exposure to the local tradition of Neapolitan lyric, left its trace in another of his theoretical treatises in the form of three musical references to masses composed on the basis of vernacular song models. In the manuscript copy of his *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (ca. 1482), he mentions Gulielmus Guarnerius's *Missa moro perché non dai fede*, Johannes Martini's *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te*, and Bernard Ycart's *Missa De amor tu dormi*.[267] Now lost, Guarnerius's *Missa moro perché non dai fede* would have been modeled after Juan Cornago's Neapolitan *barzelletta* "Moro perché non dai fede," which survives in four manuscript sources from the period: Montecassino 871, Seville-Paris, Pix, and F176.[268] As I will discuss further in part IV, Martini's *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te* does survive in either full or partial copies in two

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264 See Cesarino Ruini's introduction to Gaffurius, *Theoricum opus musicae disciplinae*, xliii–xlvi; Galiano, "Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza," 275–82.

265 "Franchini Gafori Laudensis musices professoris pars prima musice speculationis ad illustrem et excelsum don Antonium de Gevara comitem Potentie musicum clarissimum." London, British Library, ms. Hirsh IV. 1441, fols. 2v–3v; quoted in Galiano, "Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza," 277, n. 21. See also discussion of this dedication and its accompanying encomiastic epigram in Ruini's introduction to Gaffurius, *Theoricum opus musicae disciplinae*, xliii–xlvi.

266 The full encomiastic epigram on fol. 62r of the manuscript copy is reproduced in transcription in the appendix to Gaffurius, *Theoricum opus musicae disciplinae*, [lxv].

267 These three references appear in the manuscript copy of *Tractatus practicabilium proportionum* (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. A 69) on fols. 20v, 22r, and 12v, respectively. Excerpts from each reference are reproduced in D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 49, 44, and 41, respectively.

268 Montecassino 871, p. 275; Seville 5-I-43, fols. 93v–94r, S (text), T (incipit), C (incipit); Pix, fols. 54v–55r, S (incipit), T (incipit), C (incipit); F176, fols. 19v–21r, S (incipit), T (incipit), C (incipit). See full description in the repertoire census (appendix A) no. 59. On the mass, see also Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 82.

different manuscript sources (Modena α.M.1.13 and Milan 2268), but its musical model does not.[269] Instead, only the poem (another *barzelletta*) survives without a notated musical setting in one of the major collections of Neapolitan lyric from the late 1460s, known as the *Cansonero napoletano*: "Io inde tegnio quanto atte," in Paris 1035, fols. 3v–4r.[270] Finally, Ycart's *Missa De amor tu dormi* is also lost, as is its model.[271] David Fallows has posited a possible identification of the song model in the Neapolitan *barzelletta* "Amor tu non me gabasti," but, as D'Agostino aptly points out, the connection between the two incipits "De amor tu dormi" and "Amor tu non me gabasti" is tenuous at best.[272]

What we learn from these three noteworthy musical references is that Gaffurio and other trained musicians at the Aragonese court were engaged with and even influenced by Neapolitan vernacular song, even as the polyphonic settings for some of those works—such as "Io ne tengo" and "De amor tu dormi"—may never have made it into the written medium. As D'Agostino notes, "Gaffurio's quotations give us access to a polyphonic repertory that is . . . more locally oriented than the ubiquitous Franco-Flemish one cited by Tinctoris."[273] And yet, Gaffurio's exposure to this local repertory was limited to the span of just a few years. In his connections to both the Aragonese court in Naples and the Guevara court in Potenza, then, Gaffurio must have been quickly immersed in Neapolitan culture. The court of Antonio de Guevara, in particular, would have provided him with a more intimate setting in which to engage with musicians and humanists alike. Indeed, in the presentation copy of his *Theoricum opus*, Gaffurio himself mentions the noteworthy presence in Potenza of musicians like Guarnerius and humanists like Francesco Zambeccari.[274] Led by a patron well-versed in both music and letters, the baronial court of Antonio Guevara became a point of convergence for a complex network of singers, poets, theorists, and humanists—one that was connected to the centralized courts of Castel Nuovo and Castel Capuano in Naples, but also geographically and culturally separate.

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269 Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitara, Ms. α.M.1.13, no. 3; and Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Sezione Musicale, Librone 2 (*olim* 2268), fols. 56v–65r (missing Kyrie and Agnus). For a detailed discussion of this mass, see Burkholder, "Johannes Martini."

270 This connection was first noted in D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 46. See part IV for an indepth discussion of this song, the musical setting of which was reconstructed in Burkholder, "Johannes Martini," 490–91.

271 On this and another lost mass attributed to Ycart in contemporary sources, see Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 81 and 134–35.

272 See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 503 and 512; D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 42, n. 43.

273 D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 32.

274 "Gulielmum, inter musicos praestantissimum, et Franciscum Zambecharium, in omni disciplinarum genere quasi lumen aut sidus virtutum splendore solis in morem, ceteros omnes doctrina et virtute claros occupantem." Quoted in ibid., 49. See also Ruini's introduction to Gaffurius, *Theoricum opus musicae disciplinae*, xlv–xlvii. On Zambeccari, see Miller, "Francesco Zambeccari."

Music and Self-Fashioning among the Neapolitan Nobility

As Giuliana Vitale explains in her *Modelli culturali nobiliari nella Napoli aragonese*, the shifting tensions within the Kingdom of Naples's complex aristocratic hierarchy led learned Neapolitans of various backgrounds to produce a large body of behavioral and educational treatises aimed at defining the roles and behaviors appropriate to their class. This new impulse toward "autodefinizione" (or self-fashioning), in the words of Vitale, is symptomatic of the larger "crisi del ceto" (or class crisis) caused by the centralizing efforts of the Aragonese kings, who worked to break through the traditional social hierarchy, ultimately reconstructing and redefining what it means to be "noble" as a measure of loyalty and service to the crown. Within this self-fashioning corpus, the role of music as a noble pastime is addressed, in particular, by two members of the *Accademia Pontaniana*: Tristano Caracciolo of the urban aristocracy (*seggio Capuano*) and Antonio De Ferrariis *detto* Galateo (ca. 1444–1517), a trained physician from the town of Galatone in Puglia and trusted secretary to Alfonso II. In both cases, it is clear that by the turn of the sixteenth century, skills in song and dance were considered indispensable to the training of a good courtier—a sentiment that would become ubiquitous following the publication of Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano* in 1528.[275]

In an early-sixteenth-century treatise dedicated to his grandson Ferdinando Spinello, for example, Tristano Caracciolo (ca. 1437–1522) underscored the importance of these two traditions by including both song and dance as fundamental elements of a noble education, along with the study of Greek and Latin letters: "And even after our lifetime, music is still held by the nobles in esteem and worth; that summoned to you those skilled and experienced [in music], who would teach [you] to sing and dance properly, so that you are never by chance called ignorant and uncouth."[276] As a member of Naples's urban aristocracy, not only does Caracciolo emphasize the importance of a musical education, but he makes it clear that without the ability to sing and dance a noble risks being considered "rusticus et indoctus." Somewhat lacking in enthusiasm, this kind of pragmatic advice is founded in the experiences of someone who had to adapt to the changing political tides of Aragonese Naples himself throughout his career.

In contrast, Galateo's 1505 behavioral treatise *De educatione* paints a more colorful picture of the music's role in a noble education:

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275 On the role of music in Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano*, see Haar, "The Courtier as Musician."

276 "Et postquam nostra aetate etiam ingenuis musica in honore pretioque habetur, peritos callentesque eam tibi adhibuit, qui cantare et saltare probe docerent, ne quando forte rusticus et indoctus dicereris." Caracciolo, "De Ioanne Baptista," 70. Also cited in Nocilli, *Coreografare l'identità*, 12–13; Galiano, "Gaffurio, il conte di Potenza," 292–93.

When one is not occupied by the strong and virile hunt, may he produce works of manly music, not effeminate, not languid, not doleful, not lugubrious; nor do I approve of those [that are] spirited and turbulent. *For the latter are of the French, the former of the Spanish, and Italian dignity tempers them both.* Authorities [*auctores*] call the modes Dorian, Phyrigian, and Lydian. Now, who among them will deliver [their] reasoning, since everything has already been transformed aside from those monuments of literature that are preserved? Still, we read it in the first book of Apuleis's *Florida*: Aeolian [is] simple, Asian [is] varied, Lidian [is] querulous, Phrygian [is] religious, Dorian [is] bellicose.

The laws of Greek cities as well as Plato and Aristotle, the very masters of knowledge, teach [us] how much strength the modulation of music has in shaping the souls of children, plebeians, and the nobility. Wherefore those two *genera*—enharmonic and chromatic—are neglected by Christians as too delicate and weak; only the diatonic is preserved—a simple and austere *genus*—although it is also undermined by those certain notes and modes of the other *genera*. May music thus temper the harshness of gymnastics, [and] not mollify nor even weaken the spirits. *I heard both the French and Spanish modes: the Spanish ones are certainly more pleasing; however, the former [French] ones render the spirits especially agitated and rash [and] the latter [Spanish] sluggish and weak—both of which ought to be seasoned with Italian salt.*[277]

Drawing upon the Classical models of Plato and Aristotle, as well as Apuleis's *Florida*, Galateo emphasizes that the nobleman should embrace music in his leisure time, but should avoid types of music that stir the passions in inappropriate ways. Although the discussion does include humanistic references to the characteristics of the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian modes, this classicizing approach is tempered by what seem to be quite realistic descriptions of the different musical styles heard in Naples throughout the fifteenth century: French, Spanish, and Italian. In a moment of self-allusion, Galateo makes clear that he himself has heard the French and Spanish styles, and he prefers the Spanish. While the French style

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277 "Cum ab hac forti et virili venatione vacaverit, masculae, non effeminatae, non languidae, non lamentabili, non lugubri musicae det operam, neque alacrem illam et tumultuosam probo; *haec enim Gallorum est, illa Hispanorum, utramque temperet italica gravitas*; auctores et doricos et phrygios et lydios nominant modos. Nunc quis de illis reddet rationem cum omnia iam immutata sint, praeter illa, quae literarum monumentis servantur? Legimus tamen apud Apuleium Floridorum primo: Aeolium simplicem, Asium varium, Lydium querulum, Phrygium religiosum, Dorium bellicosum. Quantam vim habeat musica modulatio ad formandos puerorum plebis et procerum animos, instituta urbium Graeciae, et ipsi sapientiae antistites Plato et Aristoteles docent. Quapropter a christianis neglecta sunt illa duo genera enarmonichum et chromaticum tanquam nimis delicata et mollia, solum diatonicum servatum est, simplex et severum genus, quamvis hoc quoque quibusdam aliorum generum notis et modis labefactatum est. Temperet igitur musica gymnasticae severitatem, non molliat animos atque enervet. *Ego et gallicos et hispanicos audivi modos; hispanicos quidem plus placent, sed illi maxime concitatos et praecipites animos reddunt, hi remissos et enervatos; uterque sale italico condire oportet.*" De Ferrariis [Galateo], *De educatione*, 134–37 (facing page Latin-French edition; italics added). Also quoted in Vitale, *Modelli culturali nobiliari*, 44–45.

excites the spirit, the Spanish relaxes it, and the Italian is a necessary ingredient in moderating them both.

In the polyglot and cosmopolitan city of late-Quattrocento Naples, there can be no doubt that all three of these styles (and more) were being practiced and heard on a daily basis. Certainly, Ferrante's musical chapel employed its share of musicians from both Spain and France, and that is only one limited example within a much broader musical context. Originally from rural Puglia, Galateo would have been particularly sensitive the intermingling of foreign musical styles and the role that Italian, and more specifically Neapolitan, culture played in tempering and integrating them into the urban soundscape. And he was not alone in referring to them in this explicit way. In chronicling the nuptial festivities celebrating the marriage of Costanza d'Avalos and Federico del Balzo in 1477, Costanza's biographer Giovan Tommaso Moncada describes a spectacularly varied women's circle dance as follows:

> Immediately afterwards, a circle of women was formed without men. [The women] sang sweetly while simultaneously dancing in a circle with hands joined, and they set [their song] to music [*modulabantur*] with modulations frequently shifting [*mutata modulatione saepius*] among the French, Spanish, [and] Italian styles, so that they might delight the spirits of the listeners with the song's great variety.[278]

In performing this circle dance, not only did the women coordinate their movements and gestures, but they also sang, frequently shifting between French, Spanish, and Italian styles. In analyzing this passage, Cristina Anna Addesso characterizes these shifts as an example of "plurilinguism," but given the repeated use of the terms "modulatione" and "modulabantur," I think it goes beyond simple shifts in language.[279] Rather these modulations refer to changes in both language and musical style. Unfortunately, Moncada does not provide further detail in this regard, but in the case of a dance, it is likely that the rhythmic pattern and tenor melody were altered with each shift. Singing with such *varietas* was, of course, an ideal method of pleasing their listeners, but I would argue that it also served to encapsulate the complex cultural character of the occasion: the marriage between a noblewoman of Spanish origin, whose family had been inserted into the kingdom's feudal aristocracy by King Alfonso I, and the son of a powerful baronial prince, whose sister Isabella was to become queen in her marriage to Naples's last Aragonese king Federico I.

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278 "Statim postea facta est absque viris mulierum corona, quae simul iunctis manibus in girum salientes canebant suavissime, et mutata modulatione saepius gallico, hispanico, italico modo modulabantur, ut varietate cantus magis audientium animos oblectarent." Giovan Tommaso Moncada, *Ioannis Thomae Montecatini Adernionis Comitis De Vita Illustris Constantiae Davalos Comitissae Acerrarum*, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. X.B.67; quoted in Addesso, *Teatro e festività*, 85.

279 Ibid., 86.

The political, social, and economic policies of the Aragonese crown sought to change what it meant to be Neapolitan, and, in particular, to be Neapolitan nobility—a question that became more and more pressing over time. In outlining the proper comportment and educational pursuits of the Neapolitan aristocracy at a moment of extreme uncertainty, the writings of men like Tristano Caracciolo and Galateo defined and affirmed their own status within a tumultuous sociopolitical context. And music's increasingly prominent place in this self-defining pedagogical literature reflects the various ways that local Neapolitans engaged in the complex and multifaceted musical practices of the day. Ultimately, this impulse towards "autodefinizione" constitutes another way in which Neapolitan intellectuals—many of whom were singers and poets—sought to record and legitimize their own cultural practices. In other words, it is a type of self-ethnography, comparable (and even correlated) to the increased copying and preservation of Neapolitan lyric—both with and without notated musical settings—that will be the subject of the next two parts.

Part III

Written Records of an Oral Practice: Memorializing Song in the Music Manuscripts of Late-Quattrocento Naples

Introduction

"Sovra tutti i pastori ingegnosissimo"

Oral and literate, Latin and vernacular, improvised and pre-composed—the varied musico-poetic traditions of late-fifteenth-century Naples allowed for a fluid creative exchange between predominantly oral and written practices. As explicated in the previous part, singing Neapolitan vernacular lyric flourished among networks of intellectuals, musicians, poets, and singers from a variety of different socio-political backgrounds. Humanists of the *Accademia Pontaniana*, for example, engaged with members of the musical chapel in a way that allowed for multiple modes of musical and literary production to coexist and influence one another freely. And members of the Kingdom's urban and feudal aristocracies were particularly invested in the practice of singing lyric, either as performers or patrons (or both). In so doing, they sought to cultivate and perhaps even to legitimize their own identities within a cultural context that was constantly in flux. Given the high level of textual and musical literacy in this complex society, oral performances of Neapolitan song could be easily recorded in writing even as the transfer into that new medium would significantly change the character of the original. As I will argue in this part and the next, these acts of writing—preserved now in a set of four music manuscripts and three literary manuscripts from late-Quattrocento Naples—constitute an effort to lend authority to their own local tradition of lyric song and, thus, function as a type of ethnography of the self.[1] Indeed, by creating written records of a predominantly oral song practice, those responsible for the production (and continued use) of these manuscripts work self-consciously to preserve and, at times, memorialize what was otherwise an ephemeral local tradition. As discussed in part I, however, such acts of self-ethnography ultimately circumscribe a fluid and improvisational creative art within the limiting confines of the visual field—transforming the songs themselves by turning them into fixed snapshots of a more varied and variable aural reality.

In the opening of *Prosa VI* from Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, we are presented with an allegorized representation of this kind of self-conscious effort. As Ergasto sings a plaintive lament for the deceased Androgeo (in itself a metaphor for Sannazaro's elegy to his late father) in the preceding *Egloga V*,[2] we learn that his song is being transcribed in real time by one of his fellow shepherds:

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1   On the concept of "self-ethnography" within my methodology in this book, see part I.

2   Iacopo Sannazaro's father, Cola Sannazaro, passed away at a tragically young age in 1462 when Iacopo was only five years old. The character of Androgeo, whose death is mourned in *Prosa V*, is identified as Ergasto's father, and functions as an allegorical representation of Sannazaro himself. At this central point in the narrative, then, Sannazaro commemorates the loss of his father, just as Ergasto does Androgeo. On this, see Vecce's introduction to Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 24–25.

> While Ergasto sang [his] sorrowful song, Fronimo—the most ingenious of all the shepherds—transcribed it into the green bark of a beech tree; and, draped with many garlands, he attached it to a tree that extended its branches over the white-hued sepulchre.

> Mentre Ergasto cantò la pietosa canzone, Fronimo, sovra tutti i pastori ingegnosissimo, la scrisse in una verde corteccia di faggio; e quella di molte ghirlande investita appiccò ad un albero, che sovra la bianca sepoltura stendeva i rami soi.[3]

This short passage is the only instance in all of Arcadia in which we see the transition from oral practice to written record narrated directly. As Vecce signals, the wooden tablet—made from the bark of a beech tree—recalls, in this context, "the ancient use of the votive tablet," a small thin slab made of clay or bronze and typically hung from a tree's branches in honor of a specific ritual or deity.[4] I would argue, however, that, like many of the allusions to the ancient world in Arcadia, it may have a more contemporary reference point as well: that of the erasable tablet, or *cartella*, used in music composition from the Renaissance well into the nineteenth century.[5] Thus, one might posit that Fronimo's transcription amounts to a kind of musico-poetic dictation taken down in the course of his friend's performance. Described as "sovra tutti i pastori ingegnosissimo," his great cleverness and skill may then be attributed not only to his textual literacy, but also to his musical literacy and, most notably, to his ability to utlize both types of literacy in his real-time transcription and memorialization of Ergasto's song.

The surviving manuscripts of music and poetry from late-Quattrocento Naples can be seen, at least in part, in a similar way: as records of the ephemeral oral practice of singing Neapolitan lyric, seeking to preserve and even memorialize what would otherwise be lost. Indeed, given the extant sources under investigation here, the flourishing of the Neapolitan lyric tradition in the second half of the fifteenth century seems to have coincided with a rise in the preservation of that repertory in written form. The resulting musical and literary manuscripts, produced between the late 1460s and 1490s, provide invaluable evidence of the oral song tradition of the period and its relationship to written practice. As this chapter and the next will illustrate, these sources, musical and literary combined, paint a varied picture of the

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3   Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 139. This passage is also referenced briefly in Bortoletti, "*Arcadia*, festa e *performance*," 14.

4   "La tavoletta di legno di faggio ricorda l'uso antico della tabella votiva." Vecce also points out that the use of the votive tablet was revived over a century earlier by Petrarch, who hung a tablet inscription ("Dulcis amica dei") in honor of Mary Magdalene in the holy grotto of Sainte-Baume in Provence. Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 139, n. 1. For more on the presence and use of inscribed votive objects in ancient Puglia, for example, see Lomas, "Crossing Boundaries." On Petrarch's inscription to Mary Magdalene, see Gibaldi, "Petrarch and the Baroque Magdalene Tradition."

5   On erasable tablets in the Renaissance, see Owens, *Composers at Work*, 74–100.

lyric song repertory's role in the larger context of Neapolitan culture through their materiality, organization, and contents.

Four Neapolitan music manuscripts from the 1480s and 1490s transmit a combined repertory of 106 Italian-texted songs, which demonstrate varying degrees of connection to and separation from the oral tradition in their musical, textual, and material make-up (see table III.1). Each of these four collections, which Allan Atlas considers central testaments to Neapolitan musical life, preserves a considerable number of Italian-texted songs, a large portion of which are Neapolitan in origin.[6]

Manuscript shelfmark	Dating	Provenance
Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Ms. N 871	1480s–90s	Benedictine monastery—likely San Michele Arcangelo in Planciano di Gaeta
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," Ms. G 20	1480s	Franciscan monastery—likely Santa Maria delle Grazie di Ortona
Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina, 5-I-43 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. franç. 4379	ca. 1480	Naples or Florence
Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 16	1487–90s	Naples or Rome

Table III.1. Neapolitan music manuscripts (1480s–90s).

Manuscript shelfmark	Dating	Provenance
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds italien 1035	1468	Made for Giovanni Cantelmo, Conte di Popoli (province of Abruzzo Citra, Kingdom of Naples)
Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Vaticano latino 10656	1470s–80s	Naples
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2752	1480s–90s	Naples (possible connection to the princely court of Castel Capuano)

Table III.2. Neapolitan literary anthologies (1460s–90s).

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6   On these manuscripts as "the 'central' corpus of Neapolitan sources," see Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 120–23 (at 120).

In contrast, the three major Neapolitan manuscripts predating these sources transmit only twenty-five Italian songs among a predominantly Franco-Flemish corpus.[7] This significant increase in the preservation of Italian-texted repertory overlaps with the flourishing lyric tradition among Neapolitan humanists and aristocrats resulting in several major literary anthologies, which will be discussed in the following chapter (see table III.2).

As I will show, the surviving literary and music manuscripts preserving Neapolitan lyric from the second half of the fifteenth century were generally produced in modest dimensions with a seemingly informal or practical function, even in comparison with similar sources of Spanish lyric from the same context.[8] Moreover, there are some important differences in the general organization and make-up of the two manuscript types: literary versus musical. The three literary anthologies are more or less cohesive collections, each clearly focused on collecting and preserving a large body of Neapolitan lyric poetry. In contrast, despite this song repertory's considerable size, none of the four musical sources under investigation is wholly (or even mostly) dedicated to the preservation of Italian-texted works (see table III.3).

Abbreviation	Dating	Type	General contents	Ital.-texted works
Montecassino 871	1480s–90s	Sacred/Secular anthology	141 pieces: sacred and secular	32 pieces
Perugia 431	1480s	Sacred/Secular anthology	134 pieces: sacred and secular	46 pieces
Seville-Paris	ca. 1480	French/Intern. chansonnier	167 pieces: mostly secular	24 pieces
Bologna Q 16	1487–90s	French/Intern. chansonnier	131 pieces: mostly secular	25 pieces

Table III.3. General contents and Italian-texted works in Neapolitan music manuscripts.

7 These earlier manuscripts of the 1460s to 1470s include: Escorial B, Berlin K, and Mellon. Among the three manuscripts, only Escorial B transmits any substantial number of Italian-texted songs (twenty-three total), but it is important to note that the majority of these are almost certainly not of Neapolitan origin. For more on the Italian-texted works in these early sources, see the following section of the present part.

8 A number of Spanish lyric *cancioneros* were compiled in Naples during the late fifteenth century, including: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. Va17-7 (known as the *Cancionero de Estúniga* or MN54); Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 1098 (known as the *Cancionero de Roma* or RC1); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. 268 (known as the *Cancionero de la Marciana* or VM1); and four lyric collections at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris—Paris, BnF, fol. esp. 226, Paris, BnF, fol. esp. 230, Paris, BnF, fol. esp. 233, and Paris, BnF, fol. esp. 313.

Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431, for instance, are both mixed collections of sacred and secular music from monastic communities within the Kingdom. The sacred repertories in these collections are more coherent, while the secular music is heterogeneous and scattered. Seville-Paris and Bologna Q 16, on the other hand, are both French-style chansonniers with a mix of international repertories preserved in smaller numbers. In these collections, the central repertory is drawn primarily from the Ockeghem-Busnoys generation of Franco-Flemish composers, while the remainder of each collection encompasses a diverse mix of Spanish, Italian, German, and untexted repertories. Although this type of repertorial breakdown in music sources is in many ways typical of the period, it does nonetheless point to the Neapolitan song tradition's cultural status within the written medium. This music is frequently found in the space in between, written into the folios or even staves left blank after other more important repertoire has been copied with more care. This type of material treatment of Italian-texted song, and in particular that of Neapolitan origin, is particularly striking when compared with literary anthologies preserving many of the same or similar lyric texts. In fact, as I will discuss in part IV, those literary sources differ from their musical counterparts in that they memorialize a prolific practice of lyric composition and performance in coherent collections of a singular—and, I would argue, self-conscious—purpose.

Together, the musical and literary manuscripts from late-Quattrocento Naples suggest a developing connection between the oral song tradition of the period and its relationship to written practice, but they also raise a number of important questions. Given what we know about book-making in late-fifteenth-century Italy, what can the materiality of these manuscripts tell us about the cultural value of the texts they preserve? Furthermore, what are the differences in the material treatment of Neapolitan song texts between musical and literary sources, and what do those differences imply about the repertory's place in Neapolitan artistic production more generally? Finally, how are these manuscripts related to or representative of the oral practice of singing lyric poetry in Naples, and what purpose did they have in preserving a record of that tradition? I will address these questions by focusing first on the four central musical manuscripts (part III) and second on the three major literary anthologies (part IV). I will analyze the material quality, organization, and contents of each manuscript in order to understand both how these written sources are connected to oral production and performance and what their function might have been. In short, I aim not only to illuminate the role that Neapolitan lyric played in the musical and literary activities in the Kingdom of Naples, but also to understand how and why that repertory was preserved—and, in some cases, memorialized—in writing.

Precursors: Neapolitan Music Manuscripts of the 1460s and 1470s

The surviving music manuscripts connected to the Kingdom of Naples present a varied picture that spans a large geographical area over the course of about forty years. As Atlas outlined in his *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, there are at least eight surviving sources of polyphony that are connected to Aragonese Naples in some way.[9] They are listed in table III.4, along with the number of Italian-texted songs preserved in each one:

Decade	Manuscripts	Number of Italian-texted songs
1460s	Escorial B	23 pieces
	Berlin K	4 pieces
1470s	Mellon	4 pieces
	Foligno fragment	4 pieces
1480s–90s	Montecassino 871	32 pieces
	Perugia 431	46 pieces
	Seville-Paris	24 pieces
	Bologna Q 16	25 pieces

Table III.4. Extant polyphonic manuscripts connected to the Kingdom of Naples.

Moreover, there are two manuscripts of tablature for plucked-string instruments, which make use of the local *tabulatura alla napoletana* to varying degrees: Pesaro, Biblioteca Comunale Oliveriana, Ms. 1144 (*olim* 1193), a heart-shaped lute manuscript from the late fifteenth century; and Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 596 H.H.2, a small fragment with intabulations of Vincenet and Juan de Léon.[10]

This study focuses specifically on the polyphonic manuscripts of the 1480s and 1490s for two main reasons: first, because of the significant rise in Italian-texted repertory preserved in those sources, and second, because of the confluence of these sources, as well as the poetic genres and styles they transmit, with the rise in

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9   See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 118–25.

10   On these lute manuscripts and the *tabulatura alla napoletana*, see Rubsamen, "The Earliest French Lute Tablature"; Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures"; Ivanoff, *Das Pesaro-Manuskript*; Ivanoff, "An Invitation." According to Atlas, the three-leaf fragment BU596 was first described by Hans T. David in a paper presented at the 1958 annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Boston ("An Italian Tablature Lesson of the Renaissance"), which at the time was to be published in a posthumous collection of that scholar's essays; however, I have been unable to find that that posthumous essay collection was indeed published and have, thus, been unable to consult a copy of David's paper. See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 124, n. 32.

prominence of the Neapolitan lyric tradition and the literary manuscripts associated with it. The vernacular song repertory transmitted in these manuscripts is not without some precedent, however (see third column in table III.4). Beginning with the earliest sources from the 1460s (the first full decade of King Ferrante's reign), both Escorial B and Berlin K preserve a large number of Franco-Flemish compositions of the mid-fifteenth century and give little space to Neapolitan texts in musical setting.[11] Together, the two collections transmit only twenty-four Italian-texted songs, twenty-three of which are found in Escorial B. Yet, although Escorial B does transmit a significant body of Italian-texted songs, the types of texts and genres present in that group are not reflective of the Neapolitan tradition, and there are relatively few significant concordances in the Italian-texted repertory with other major Neapolitan sources (either literary or musical). Rather, the Italian-texted songs in Escorial B are largely in forms and styles more typical to poetic practice of the early to mid-fifteenth century, such as the *ballata*, *serventese*, and *capitolo*, and many have connections to traditions that were clearly foreign to Naples, such as Florentine Trecento polyphony and the Venetian *giustiniana*.[12] This penchant for northern Italian song genres is almost certainly due to the production history of this manuscript, which (as I discussed in part II) began its composite compilation north of Rome despite its apparent completion in Naples.[13]

In contrast to Escorial B, each of the other three Neapolitan music manuscripts from the 1460s to 1470s preserves only a handful of Italian-texted songs. As indicated in table III.4, Berlin K transmits four, and again these songs seem to originate north of the Kingdom of Naples. Two of these are versions of the famous *giustiniana* "O rosa bella,"[14] and one is actually a French-texted ballade attributed to John Bedyngham that also appears in other Neapolitan manuscripts with an Italian text: "F[ortune helas]" in Berlin K (and "Fortuna las" in Montecassino 871), which appears as "Gentil madonna" in Escorial B, Mellon, and Seville-Paris.[15]

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11 On Escorial B and Berlin K, see Slavin, "On the Origins of Escorial"; Hanen, *The Chansonnier El Escorial*; Atlas, "La provenienza del manoscritto Berlin 78.C.28"; Reidemeister, *Die Chanson-Handschrift 78 C 28*; Warmington, "The Missing Link."

12 An obvious exception to this is the *barzelletta* I discussed in part II, "Hora mai che fora son," which was performed for Ippolita Sforza in Siena on the eve of her wedding to the Duke of Calabria Alfonso II d'Aragona. On the Neapolitan character of this song as well as "Fate d'arera" (another song of presumed southern Italian origin preserved in Escorial B), see Pirrotta, "Su alcuni testi italiani," 140–44.

13 See my discussion of this manuscript in connection to Ippolita Sforza in part II.

14 Musical settings of "O rosa bella" also appear in Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, and Seville-Paris, and a text only version of the song is transmitted in Paris 1035. On its appearance in Paris 1035, in particular, see part IV.

15 For a full list of the concordances of this song in both Neapolitan and non-Neapolitan music manuscripts, as well as a list of *cantasi come lauda* settings, see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 521–22. See also the discussion in Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 2:375–84; Pirrotta, "Ricercare e variazioni," 68–69.

Moreover, three are concordant with those already present in Escorial B: one of the versions of "O rosa bella" attributed to Dunstable; Bedyngham's "Fortune helas"/"Gentil madonna"; and the strophic *oda* "Hora cridar oyme," whose text has been attributed to the Veronese poet Leonardo Montagna.

Most likely compiled by Johannes Tinctoris for his student and patron, the princess Beatrice d'Aragona, around 1475,[16] Mellon similarly preserves some of the same northern Italian songs as Berlin K and Escorial B ("Gentil madonna" and "Hora cridar oyme"), but also begins to hint at the influence of Neapolitan lyric among members of the musical chapel by including a *barzelletta* setting attributed to the Franco-Flemish chapel singer and composer Vincenet: "Triste qui sperò morendo." Vincenet's musical setting of "Triste qui sperò morendo" is unique to the Mellon, but its text is not. Indeed, with a completely different musical setting attributed to the Spanish-born chapel musician Juan Cornago in Perugia 431 ("Trista che spera morendo"), this *barzelletta* is one of only eight Neapolitan lyric texts to survive with more than one musical setting.[17]

Perhaps the most telling potential precursor to the song repertory preserved in the Neapolitan music manuscripts of the 1480s to 1490s, however, is what has come to be known as the Foligno fragment. Held in the Biblioteca Comunale di Foligno with no identifying signature, the Foligno fragment consists of eight parchment leaves measuring approximately 15 × 20.5 cm and, according to Atlas, may be dated to the late 1470s to early 1480s.[18] In their contents, these eight fragmentary leaves can be divided into two large sections (see table III.5).

As is evident from table III.5, the first five folios preserve a didactic-theoretical text in Latin followed by a series of plainchant settings in each of the eight modes. Then, starting on fol. 5v, we find a significant group of polyphonic vernacular songs in genres typical of the Neapolitan lyric tradition: the *strambotto* ("Piangete occhi mej," "Io ardo in foco," and "Poi che nel tuo core") and the *barzelletta* ("A ladri perche robbate").

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16   On the Neapolitan origin and dating of this manuscript, see Perkins and Garey, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 1:28–32. See also Perkins, "The Mellon Chansonnier."

17   See part V for a more in-depth discussion of the lyric texts with more than one musical setting.

18   A brief description of this manuscript is provided in Rubsamen, "The Earliest French Lute Tablature," 294–95, n. 19. In addition, Knud Jeppesen provides a brief description as well as a facsimile of the polyphonic portion of the manuscript (fols. 5v–8r) in Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 2:xxv–xxvii (plates XLIV–XIL) and 2:61–62. For Atlas's proposed dating, as well as his argument for the Neapolitan provenance of this fragmentary manuscript, see Atlas, "The Foligno Fragment," 181–98 (on dating, esp. 186).

19   Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult this full manuscript fragment in person because it was stolen from the Biblioteca Comunale di Foligno (as the librarian there informed me via email correspondence). Table III.5 is, therefore, compiled from the information available in Rubsamen, "The Earliest French Lute Tablature," 294–95, n. 19; Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 2:xxv–xxvii (plates XLIV–XIL) and 2:61–62; and Atlas, "The Foligno Fragment," 181–82.

Folio(s)	Contents
1r	Didactic Latin poem explaining the modes
1r–2r	Eight recitation tones on the text "Dixit dominus" (one in each mode)
2r–3r	Eight recitation tones on the text "Gloria patri"
3v–5v	Eight recitation tones labeled "De intonation introytuum Gloria patri"
5v–6r	3-voice setting of "Piangete occhi mej" (C, T, Ct)
6r	2-voice untexted composition (C, T)
6v–7r	3-voice setting of "Io ardo in foco" (C, T, Ct)
7r	3-voice setting of "Poi che nel tuo core m'aj abbandonato" (C, T, Ct)
7v–8r	4-voice setting of "A ladri perche robbate le fatige" (C, T, Ca, Cb)

Table III.5. Full contents of the Foligno fragment.[19]

Beyond the question of genre, we find other evidence of varied connections to the Neapolitan lyric tradition as well. First, as Atlas has pointed out, the *strambotto* "Piangete occhi mej" is attributed the Florentine poet Luigi Pulci, and thus cannot be considered to be strictly Neapolitan; however, it may have come into the Neapolitan lyric orbit during Pulci's visit to Naples on behalf of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1471.[20] In contrast, it is quite likely that "Io ardo in foco"—a *strambotto siciliano* with the typically southern Italian rhyme scheme ABABABAB—is of Neapolitan origin despite its concordance with the 1496 musical *strambotto* manuscript from Padua (Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. α.F.9.9), since according to Atlas's musical reading the two copies were almost certainly "not drawn from the same parent source" and Foligno fragment predates Modena α.F.9.9 by at least fifteen years.[21] The most telling connection between Foligno fragment and the Neapolitan lyric tradition, however, is found in the *barzelletta* "A ladri perche robbate le fatige," which is also copied (with a strikingly similar musical reading) in Perugia 431.[22] As Atlas explains, the two musical texts in Foligno fragment and Perugia 431 are so similar that "it seems obvious that [they] . . . were copied from precisely the same exemplar or conceivably even one from the other."[23]

In preserving a combination of vernacular and sacred works, as well as a Latin didactic poem—and likely memorial aid—on the musical modes, the Foligno fragment may document an early stage in Neapolitan song's transition into the written

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20 Atlas, "The Foligno Fragment," 181–82.
21 See ibid., 184. On Modena α.F.9.9, see Zanovello, "'You Will Take This Sacred Book.'"
22 See information about this song in the repertoire census (appendix A), no. 3.
23 Atlas, "The Foligno Fragment," 185.

medium,[24] thus functioning as an important complement to our understanding of the larger polyphonic collections of the 1480s and '90s. As we will see, the Foligno fragment transmits a microcosm of what we find in the four music manuscripts under investigation in this chapter—a combination of different repertories (secular and sacred alike) in which Italian-texted song is often prominently featured and short didactic musical treatises are frequently present. In my investigation of these sources below, I will illustrate how and why works originating in the oral tradition of singing Neapolitan lyric were recorded and transmitted in the written medium—a process that not only transformed the songs themselves irrevocably, but ultimately made them part of the larger musico-poetic legacy of late-Quattrocento Naples.

Montecassino 871

Introduction

The musical collection found in the codex Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Ms. N 871 is one of two Neapolitan musical sources of the late fifteenth century that originates in a monastic environment. Preserving a combination of sacred and secular repertories, the collection as a whole appears to have been the personal collection of a single scribe-compiler, functioning as a heterogeneous memorial archive that both preserved written records of musical works and had the potential to act as a cue for remembering or recreating those works in performance.[25]

Among the four musical sources under consideration in the present chapter, Montecassino 871 transmits the second largest group of Italian-texted songs. Out of 141 sacred and secular works, thirty-two set Italian texts in a variety of genres: *strambotti*, *barzellette*, *ballate*, *canti carnascialeschi*, and popular or dance-based tunes of unidentified or irregular forms.[26] Unfortunately, seven of the Italian pieces origi-

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24 Unfortunately, I have been unable to consult a copy of the full manuscript (as it was stolen), and so, I cannot say with certainty whether or not all eight leaves are copied by the same hand. That said, from what is available in Jeppesen's facsimile of fols. 5v–8r, it would appear that at least the polyphonic portion of the fragment was copied by a single hand. See Jeppesen, *La Frottola*, 2:xxv–xxvii (plates XLIV–XIL).

25 For more on the relationship between memory and performance, see my discussion in part I.

26 In contrast to my figure here, Pope and Kanazawa list only twenty-nine Italian-texted songs in Montecassino 871. This discrepancy occurs because I consider the following songs to be Italian-texted in Neapolitan practice, even if they do not appear as such in every manuscript source that transmits them: "Fortuna las" (also texted with the *giustiniana* text "Gentil madonna" in other Neapolitan sources, Mellon and Seville-Paris), "Non sya gyamay" (also texted with the French text "Madame trop me vos" in other Neapolitan sources, Perugia 431 and Bologna Q 16), and "Din diri din" (a Catalan romance appearing in the *Cançonero de Palacio* and listed as a French text

nally listed in the *tabula* are now lost.[27] Even in its current damaged state, however, it may be possible to suggest that the musical manuscript in Montecassino 871 was copied and eventually assembled on the basis of two distinct structural plans, one for the sacred works and one for the secular songs. Indeed, while the sacred repertory is more carefully arranged in cohesive fascicles according to genre and function, the numerous secular works seem to have been inserted haphazardly throughout the collection with little concern for organizational integrity. As I discuss below in more detail, the Italian-texted songs are often preserved in the most damaged or heterogeneous portions of the manuscript, hinting at a possible transcription plan that predates their inclusion in the larger collection.

In what follows, a detailed analysis of the fascicle structure, paper types, handwriting style, and *mise en page* in these specific sections will illustrate the informal approach taken within Montecassino 871 to the copying and compilation of a repertory that was rarely found in written sources of the period. The manuscript's inconsistent and often careless treatment of Italian-texted works makes it seem, in some sections, as though it were a composite of fragments, such as what one finds in the Foligno fragment discussed earlier. Indeed, with the exception of the Foligno fragment, this collection may represent the closest written source we have to the oral tradition of Neapolitan song.

Physical Description

Formerly belonging to the Benedictine monastery of San Michele Arcangelo in Planciano in the diocese of Gaeta (and likely originating in that context as well), the musical manuscript was eventually bound into a larger codex (now known as Montecassino 871) with several non-musical texts, most likely after its arrival at the Abbey of Montecassino.[28] In its current state, the codex measures approximately 20.6 × 27.6 cm and is made up of 436 numbered pages (or 218 actual *chartae* or folios) of both parchment (in non-musical sections) and paper (in the musical

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in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*; nonetheless, it transmits an Italianate text in Montecassino 871). In short, throughout this book, my policy in identifying Italian-texted works in each manuscript under investigation here is to include any and all pieces that are associated with an Italian text in any Neapolitan manuscript source, even if that song's original version would warrant a French or Spanish text or genre. By doing this, I allow the blurred boundaries among repertories to remain blurred and, as such, to reveal some more of the complexities in the lines of influence among traditions and cultures in the musical practice at Naples. On the mixture of French, Spanish, and Italian styles in Neapolitan musical practice, see the concluding section of part II.

27   Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 68. Pope and Kanazawa discuss the discrepancies between the tabula and the manuscript's current contents extensively in the introduction to their edition of Montecassino 871.

28   See ibid., 2–5; Dell'Omo, *Insediamenti monastici*, 157–64.

section), bound in what appears to be a more recent calfskin binding.[29] The musical section of the manuscript is preserved in the last half of the codex on pages 247 to 436. Written in pencil continuously throughout the manuscript, the modern pagination in Arabic numerals assigns a new number individually to the recto and verso side of each folio, thus indicating two pages to every single folio. An earlier foliation system, also in Arabic numerals, is specific to the music manuscript and predates its binding within the larger codex, originally indicating folios numbered from 1 to 161 (approximately).[30] As we will see, however, the binding and rebinding of this manuscript over time caused serious damage to the original order and integrity of this foliation, causing a large portion of folios from the middle of the manuscript to go missing and other folios to be reordered (and thus renumbered) drastically.[31] One of the chief goals of the study done by Pope and Kanazawa in their edition of the manuscript's musical contents was to reconstruct the original order and structure of the manuscript by comparing it, as it is now, with the detailed *tabula* at the end of the collection.[32] Indeed, discrepancies between the manuscript's *tabula* and current structure indicate that certain fascicles were edited, rearranged, or damaged before being bound in their present state, causing many of the original folio numbers to be cut off or changed.

Organized first alphabetically and then by folio number, the *tabula* seems to have been executed after a preliminary version of the full manuscript was copied and foliated. Discrepancies between the *tabula* and the manuscript's current contents reveal the loss of a sizeable number of works from its original repertory (as previously noted with relation to the Italian-texted works, in particular), but they also demonstrate that a small, yet significant number of works was added only after the *tabula*'s completion.[33] As such, it captures a first cohesive picture of the collection's contents and organization, but ultimately does not represent its final version.[34]

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29 Detailed material descriptions of the musical manuscript in this codex and the disposition of its contents can be found in Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 1–27. A briefer outline of this can be found in Dell'Omo, *Insediamenti monastici*, 162–64.

30 These original folio numbers are often cut off and rewritten in a later hand. Pope and Kanazawa have done their best to reconstruct a comparison between the original version of this foliation system and what survives today in their description of the manuscript: Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 13–15.

31 For the sake of clarity, I will use primarily the modern pagination when referencing specific places in the manuscript. When it is necessary to refer to foliation rather than pagination, I use the newer folio numbers that currently survive and not the original ones that cannot be easily deciphered.

32 For the final result of this reconstruction, see Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 21–27.

33 For the works added to the manuscript after the completion of the *tabula* see column VII of the manuscript reconstruction in ibid. Only one of Italian-texted works in the current manuscript does not appear in the *tabula*: "Non sia gyamay" (census no. 62).

34 On the use of manuscript indexes and tables of contents (like the *tabula* in Montecassino 871) in studying compilation process for polyphonic manuscripts of this kind, see Bent, "Indexes in Late Medieval Polyphonic Music Manuscripts"; Bent, "The Trent 92 and Aosta Indexes."

As Pope and Kanazawa have noted, nearly the entire musical manuscript (including the *tabula*)[35] appears to be in the hand of a single scribe writing over a long period of time.[36] And this main scribe seems to have acted as both copyist and compiler of what was ultimately a personal collection of musical texts. Although there are shifts in style and ink color throughout, a clear consistency in the basic form of note shapes and letters demonstrates that both text and music were almost certainly written by the same hand throughout. In their analysis, Pope and Kanazawa identify two opposing "stages of the variation" in style with numerous shades of gray between them: the "earliest style," which tends to be more formal with heavier pen strokes and more evenly shaped letters and note heads; and the "later style," which is characterized by lighter pen strokes and a lack of consistency in the size and uprightness of symbols and letters.[37] While this distinction between more formal, heavier pen strokes and lighter, less precise script is clearly present and valid, it does not seem to me that there is sufficient evidence for these opposing poles to indicate with certainty the temporal precedence of one or the other.

Indeed, if we begin from the likely possibility that not all of the works assembled in this manuscript were originally copied with the intention of creating a bound collection, one might suggest that these shifts in scribal style could have had just as much to do with the type of work being copied and the level of care taken with that particular genre than with a gradual shift specifically from "earlier" to "later" additions within a hypothetical larger manuscript. A good example of this shift can be seen in the comparison of an excerpt from the psalm "Dixit dominus" on page 280 (as seen in figure III.1)[38] with the cantus part of the Italian-texted secular song by Juan Cornago, "Moro perché non mi day fede" just a few folios earlier on page 275 (as seen in figure III.2). Each of these examples is representative of the typical copying style for their respective categories within the manuscript's overall repertory. Psalms (and other sacred works), such as "Dixit dominus," are often given a larger script with heavier pen strokes, more spaced out note shapes, and formal, even lettering in the underlying text. In contrast, Italian-texted songs, such as "Moro perché non mi day fede," are typically given less space on the page, thus requiring smaller note shapes and textual script, which are often slanted, unevenly drawn, and lacking in consistency. This difference in scribal treatment among

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35 The script of the *tabula* is quite a bit smaller and of a different style from that of the musical texts, but it is nonetheless similar enough to warrant an identification with the main scribal hand. In fact, the apparent differences are almost certainly due to the specific purpose of the *tabula* versus that of the rest of the manuscript.

36 Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 18–19. There are also a few places where a later hand has added in musical fragments in empty spaces, but these are quite distinct from the original hand and thus quite easy to discern.

37 Ibid.

38 The full psalm is copied on pages 280 to 283 of the manuscript.
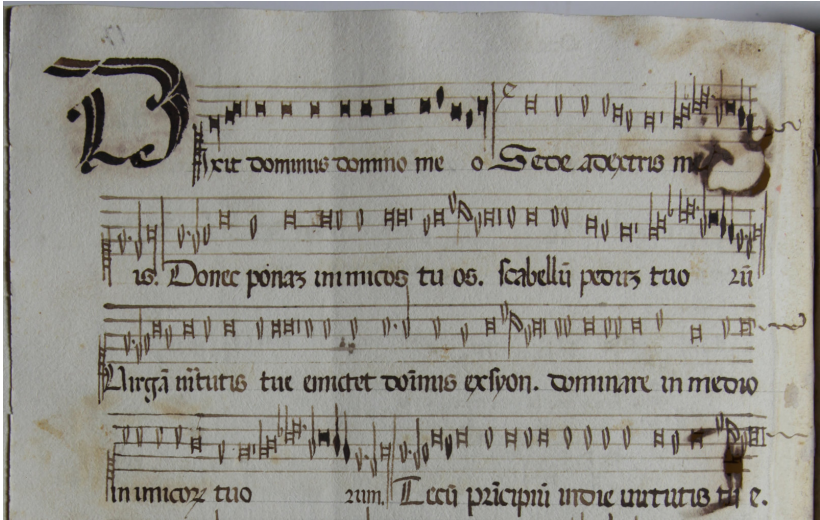
Figure III.1. Montecassino 871, excerpt from "Dixit dominus," p. 280.

Figure III.2. Montecassino 871, Cantus of Cornago's "Moro perché non mi day fede," p. 275.

genres or song types, while not categorically consistent, occurs with enough frequency to be revealing of the main scribe's heterogeneous approach in copying and compiling the manuscript's repertoire.

Indeed, the scribe was likely copying these works at different times in discreet groups or, in some cases, even individually—perhaps as he received new musical texts from correspondents or friends.[39] Such shifts in scribal style are often, though not always, linked to a significant change in the type of repertory being copied, and as we will see, the disposition of those shifts within the generally disorganized state of the manuscript's fascicle structure is indicative of a lack of large-scale planning in the collection as a whole.

One important feature of this manuscript's unusual structure is its use of different paper types. In its current state, Montecassino 871 employs eight different paper types with varying levels of frequency throughout. These paper types can be identified on the basis of their watermarks, as described in table III.6. Watermarks A through D, which appear between eight and eleven times each, are used with considerably more frequency than E through H, each of which only occurs twice over the course of the entire collection.[40] Moreover, certain watermarks are found throughout the manuscript (for example, watermark A) while others are used in more concentrated sections (such as watermark C). The number of paper types used in a given gathering can be a helpful indicator of the level of organization and planning employed in the manuscript's production. Gatherings with three or more watermarks—in particular, fascicles I, VIII, and IX—seem to lack the structural integrity of other portions of the manuscript, which only have one or two (such as fascicles II and III).

In its present form, the musical manuscript in Montecassino 871 is made up of nine fascicles, consisting of approximately twelve to sixteen folios each. Having been bound and rebound over time, these fascicles survive in varying degrees of order and completeness, some having been severely damaged (see table III.7).

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39   It was not uncommon for members of the Neapolitan aristocracy to send each other lyric texts through epistolary correspondence, as shown in the letters written between Giovanni Cantelmo and Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro copied at the end of the *Cansonero napoletano* (Paris 1035, see discussion in part IV). As Brian Richardson has illustrated, these "shorter texts could be rearranged or newly combined into personalized anthologies" like Montecassino 871. See Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 8. For other examples of the practice of sending songs or lyric texts through epistolary correspondence in Renaissance Italy, see Blackburn, "Lorenzo de' Medici"; as well as the music-related epistolary correspondence of Isabella d'Este with various interlocutors (including some connected to Naples, such as the Marquis of Bitonto) in the early sixteenth century. For some examples of these letters, see MacNeil, "Ad tempo taci," esp. 18:20–22:30.

40   The watermarks described here appear in the manuscript with the following frequency: A, ten times; B, eight times; C, nine times; D, eleven times; E, F, G and H: two times.

WM	Description	Fasc.	Briquet no. (dating/provenance)
A	Scissors with a five-petalled flower	I, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX	Briquet, no. 3725 (Genoa, 1472, 1475–79)[41]
B	Bird (with variations)	I, III, IV, VIII, IX	Several different variants resembling Briquet, nos. 12145 (Naples, 1470–73), 12146 (Naples, 1475), and 12149 (Rome, 1479–81)[42]
C	Escutcheon with crown (arms of Valencia)	I, II	Resembles most closely Briquet no. 2066 (Palermo, 1473–76)
D	Hunting horn	III, VI, IX	Briquet, no. 7698 (Naples, 1480; variants in Naples, 1483–95; Rome, 1487; and Florence, 1498)
E	Hand with Tau	VII	No exact match in Briquet, as the presence of the Tau is unusual, but the form of the hand resembles most closely Briquet nos. 11180 and 11181 (both from Palermo, 1478)
F	Crossbow in circle	VIII	Briquet, no. 746 (Lucca, 1469–73; with variants in several Italian cities, including Naples, 1475 and Rome, 1469–72)
G	Anchor in circle	VIII	No exact match, most similar to Briquet, nos. 458 (Palermo, 1485), 462 (Gratz, 1483 and Venice, 1482), and 466 (Florence, 1490)
H	Unclear (possibly a running horse)	VII, VIII	Likely part of Briquet's group "Cheval entier," one of which (no. 3574) has been connected to Manfredonia (Puglia), 1528

Table III.6. Watermarks in Montecassino 871.[43]

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41 Briquet considers the Scissors watermark to be "exclusively Italian" ("Les ciseaux sont un filigrane exclusivement italien"). Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 2:235.

42 Briquet indicates that the bird watermarks of the type numbered 12145 through 12152 (i.e., a bird with a three-pronged tail) are of primarily central and southern Italian provenance. See ibid., 3:608.

43 The designations for these watermarks are drawn from Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 10–11.

Fasc.	Pages/Folios	WM	Structural features	Contents
I	pp. 247–78 (fols. 1–16)	A, B, C	Folios cut or separated from their counter-parts	Sacred and secular pieces: French chansons (Dufay) and Italian/Spanish pieces
II	pp. 279–306 (fols. 17–30)	C	Uniform paper quality (watermark C)	Psalms for Sunday Vespers, Office hymns, Vesper hymns (two secular pieces by Dufay and Oriola inserted later)
III	pp. 307–30 (fols. 31–42)	B, D	Mostly uniform paper quality (watermark D)	Office hymns and antiphons, Vesper hymns
IV	pp. 331–40 (fols. 43–48)	A, B	Only first three folios plus fifth and sixth survive	Dufay Magnificat and Latin hymns
V	pp. 341–44 (fols. 101–2A/88*)	A	First and last folios of the fascicle survive; like fascicle IV, pasted together with glue	Secular pieces (Lamentations would have been in the original, unmutilated fascicle)
VI	pp. 345–72 (fols. 102–15)	A, D	Well preserved in original form (no missing/mutilated pages)	Lamentation settings and shorter secular pieces (French and Italian)
VII	pp. 373–94 (fols. 148–61)	A, E, H	Originally 14 folios, but 4 folios in the middle were lost and one was inserted	Secular French and Spanish song, one Latin hymn (missing folios had more secular songs, one Italian)
VIII	pp. 395–426 (fols. 132–47)	A, B, F, G, H	Highly mutilated fascicle: folios missing, later additions, inserted folios, etc. Originally preceded fascicle VII.	Secular song: mostly Italian, with some French, Spanish, and also a couple of Latin hymns, antiphons
IX	pp. 427–34 (fols. 148–50)	A, B, D	Four leaves of paper pasted together	Masses, secular song: mostly Italian, one French; last folio of the MS: original table of contents

Table III.7. Current fascicle structure of the musical collection in Montecassino 871.

As is evident in table III.7 (which outlines the overall structure and disposition of the manuscript's current organization), secular vernacular-language works appear interspersed throughout the manuscript in all nine fascicles, while sacred Latin pieces are organized in more cohesive groupings by genre or function. Fascicles II through IV preserve hymns, psalms, antiphons, and Magnificats with a uniformity and clarity that is largely lacking in the other six gatherings. Within those fascicles, the only two secular songs present (Oriola's "O vos omnes qui transite" and Dufay's "Je ne vis onque"—both in fascicle II) seem to have been later insertions, most likely filling in empty spaces after the main repertory was copied. Fascicles II and III, in particular, are both fully intact gatherings of fourteen folios, each with uniform paper types—watermark C in fascicle II and watermark D (with the exception of a single instance of watermark B) in fascicle III. Unfortunately, fascicle IV has only survived in a fragmentary state, but Pope and Kanazawa's reconstruction reveals that, in its original form, it too was likely made up of fourteen folios and included several more hymns and Magnificats in a similar vein to what currently survives.[44]

Between fascicles IV and V, it appears that fifty folios from the original manuscript structure are now missing—originally foliated 49 to 100 (with the exception of folio 88, now renumbered 102A). Pope and Kanazawa have posited, therefore, that there were likely at least two additional fascicles between the current IV and V, which would have transmitted a combination of lamentations, antiphons, and secular songs with texts in French, Italian, and Spanish.[45] The most representative model for what these gatherings might have looked like in their pre-mutilated form is fascicle VI—an intact fourteen-folio gathering made up of only two paper types and preserving a similar repertorial profile to what was lost in the preceding fascicles. Thus, even with the irreparable damage done to this central portion of the manuscript, one might imagine that these gatherings were—in their original, undamaged form—structurally sound compilations of a mixed sacred and secular musical repertory.

In contrast, the fascicles that transmit mainly secular works (I, VII, VIII, and IX) are more disorganized and varied not only in the ordering and presentation of their contents, but also in their physical structure. Indeed, fascicles I, VIII, and IX, in particular, are formed of what seem to be disparate leaves of varying paper types, cut and pasted in different combinations in order to construct coherent gatherings.[46] Some of this damage in the later portions of the manuscript was caused, at

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44 Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 16.

45 Pope and Kanazawa label these hypothetical lost fascicles A and B, assigning them sixteen and fifteen folios respectively. For the discussion and outlining of this reconstruction, see ibid., 16–17.

46 Fascicle VII is actually more structurally sound, but interestingly preserves mainly French-texted works.

least in part, by the reordering of fascicles VII and VIII, which were reversed in the manuscript's original form. Nevertheless, this level of disorganization cannot be attributed solely to later mutilations throughout the manuscript, since fascicle I, in particular, preserves the precise form and order indicated by the manuscript's original foliation.

More importantly, fascicles I, VIII, and IX alone transmit twenty-seven of the thirty-two Italian-texted songs in Montecassino 871, many of which have strong Neapolitan associations. It can be no coincidence, then, that they make up the portions of the manuscript that demonstrate the least effort toward cohesiveness and structural integrity. A closer look at the way these songs are presented throughout the collection may shed further light on their material treatment and cultural value within the written medium.

Italian-Texted Song in Montecassino 871

The thirty-two Italian-texted secular songs in Montecassino 871 are dispersed throughout the manuscript's nine-fascicle structure with significant concentrations in fascicles I, VIII, and IX.[47] Over half of these songs are *strambotto* settings (seventeen total), while the remaining works are *barzellette* (six), *ballate* (five), and various other forms. In many ways, this repertory reflects the particular intersection of musical and poetic practices in and around Naples during this period. It consists largely of two of the most typical genres of the Neapolitan lyric tradition—the *strambotto* and the *barzelletta*.[48] It preserves musical settings by composers employed in the Aragonese musical chapel, such as Cornago and Oriola.[49] And it includes settings of popular tunes, which are likely connected to the dance tradition fostered and practiced by the Duchess of Calabria, Ippolita Sforza, and other prominent female members of the royal family.[50]

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47 See table B.1 in appendix B for a list of these songs and their placement and layout within the manuscript structure.

48 One *strambotto* in particular, "O tempo bono e chi me t'ha levato," can even be attributed to a major Neapolitan aristocrat and poet: Francesco Galeota. On Francesco Galeota, see Santagata, *La lirica aragonese*, 180–91, 254–58; Bronzini, "F. Galeota [1986]"; Bronzini, "F. Galeota [1988]."

49 See "Moro perché non day fede" (census no. 59) and "Morte merce gentile aquila altera" (census no. 61) by Cornago and "O vos homines qui transite" (census no. 70) by Oriola in the repertoire census (appendix A).

50 See, in particular, "La vita de Colino" (census no. 49). As I discussed in part II, step sequences for this song appear in two different fifteenth-century dance sources of the period: a single copy of Guglielmo Ebreo's dance treatise (New York, NYPL, Cia Fornaroli Coll., pp. 52–53); and a collection of Italian dances notated by Johannes Cochläus (Nürnberg, Germ. Nat. Mus. MS 8842). On these sources, see Brainard, "Appendix II," 534–35.

Moreover, ten of these songs have concordant text-only copies in one or more of the Neapolitan literary manuscripts from the period, as listed in table III.8.

C. no.	Incipit	Neapolitan Literary MS
49	La vita de colino	Paris 1035
11	Amor tu non me gabasti	Paris 1035
70	O vos homines qui transite	Paris 1035
68	O rosa bella	Paris 1035
38	In tempo che facia lo sacrificio	Vaticano latino 10656
80	Quanto mi dolse la nigra partita	Vaticano latino 11255 ("crudel")[51]
10	Amor che t'ho fat'hio che me day guerra	Vaticano latino 10656, 11255
19	Cor mio volunturiuso dura dura	Paris 1035, Vaticano latino 10656
69	O tempo bono e chi me t'ha levato	Modena α.M.7.31, Naples BNN XVII.1,[52] Vaticano latino 10656
89	Sera nel cor mio doglia et tormento	Riccardiana 2752, Vaticano latino 11255

Table III.8. Songs in Montecassino 871 with Neapolitan literary concordances.

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51 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano latino 11255. This manuscript was compiled and owned by Bernardino Grapelino, a servant of Matteo Maria Boiardo. As Giuseppina La Face Bianconi has argued, however, its poetic contents are strongly Neapolitan despite its clear northern Italian provenance. Preserved on the first fifteen leaves of this modest seventy-six-folio miscellany codex, the Neapolitan texts in Vaticano latino 11255 include several *strambotti* found in major Neapolitan sources: "Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento" (census no. 89) and "Amor che t'ho fat'hio che me day guerra" (census no. 10), which are both preserved with musical settings in Montecassino 871; "Son stato nel inferno tanto tanto" (census no. 91), which is preserved with music in Seville-Paris; and two texts that have been tenuously attributed to Poliziano in past scholarship, but have concordances in another Neapolitan literary manuscript (Vaticano latino 10656), "Io semino el campo e altro mete" (which, I might add, has a strong thematic connection to the fragmentary "Zappay lo campo" [census no. 106] in Montecassino 871) and "Se gli ochi son contenti e consolati." See La Face Bianconi, *Gli strambotti del codice estense*, 110–20. To this list, I would also add "Ocultamente me sentite puncto," which is mentioned in a 1491 notarial document from Messina along with "Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento" (see part V) and "Quanto mi duolso de la crudel partita," which has (potentially) two different musical settings in Montecassino 871 (with settings of lyric texts with the incipits "Quanto mi dolse sta crudel partita" (census no. 81) and "Quanto mi dolse la nigra partita" (census no. 80) both copied on the same side of one folio: Montecassino 871, p. 416). For scholarship providing a general description and detailed discussion of Vaticano latino 11255, see Reichenbach, "Saggi di poesia popolare"; Guerrini, "Il codice trasformato [1988]"; and its continuation, Guerrini, "Il codice trasformato [1989]."

52 Full signatures for these manuscripts are: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Vittorio Emanuele III, Ms. XVII.1 and Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. α.M.7.32 (It. 1168). These are two copies of Francesco Galeota's *Canzoniere*. The Naples copy is in the hand of Neapolitan humanist and member of the *Accademia Pontaniana* Gianmarco Cinico.

The significance of the fact that a full third of the Italian-texted song repertory in this manuscript has clear connections to major Neapolitan literary sources cannot be overstated. Indeed, this group of six *strambotti*, two *barzellette*, one *ballata*, and one popular dance-based tune is a representative intersection of the manuscript's larger Italian corpus—one with strong ties to Naples's oral practice of singing lyric poetry. As I discuss in the next part, these types of song concordances between musical and literary sources can tell us two main things: first, they provide clear evidence that those particular texts were, indeed, performed musically; and second, they open up the possibility that other similar texts could have been sung as well, perhaps with comparable musical settings.[53] In other words, a lack of specifically musical evidence does not preclude the possibility that a given text was sung.

Likewise, the significant portion of musical texts in Montecassino 871 with clear connections to non-notated lyric collections may demonstrate not only that these particular texts were performed and, in most cases, composed in Neapolitan literary circles, but also that other similar songs with extant musical settings could just as easily have their origins in the Neapolitan lyric tradition.[54] Indeed, even without concordances in one of the surviving Neapolitan literary manuscripts, the numerous *strambotto* settings in Montecassino 871 bear many of the hallmarks of that tradition. For instance, the *strambotto* "Vedo che fortuna me contrasta" strongly resembles other *strambotti* with clear connections to Neapolitan literary circles[55] in its simple musical setting, "siciliano" poetic structure, and thematic elements—the poetic "I" lamenting against Fortune and Love. Furthermore, beyond the more typical genres of the Neapolitan lyric repertory, if a dance-based drinking song like "La vita de colino" can be copied in a cohesive literary collection like Paris 1035, then it is certainly possible that other popular tunes—such as "Din diri din" and "Voca la galiera"—were known in those circles as well.[56]

One of the first of its kind in late-Quattrocento Italy, the manifestly local Italian-texted repertory copied in Montecassino 871, thus, represents a culture of creative

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53 See, in particular, the discussion of musical texts in Paris 1035 in part IV.

54 For more on this see part V.

55 For example, "In tempo che facia lo sacrificio" and "O tempo bono e chi me t'ha levato" (both preserved in the Neapolitan lyric anthology Vaticano latino 10656).

56 "La vita de colino" (census no. 49) and "Dindiridin" (census no. 26) also have in common their mixed linguistic character. As I will discuss in part IV, while "La vita de colino" is rendered in *napoletano misto* in its literary source (Paris 1035), the texts transmitted in Montecassino 871 seem to be a polyglot mix of French, Italian, and Iberian-language elements. Similarly, the text of "Dindiridin" in Montecassino 871 seems to be in Neapolitan vernacular with some Occitan/Catalan elements, while it is transmitted in Catalan in the *Cançionero de Palacio* (Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio Real, Ms. II-1335 [*olim* 2-I-5]) and in Provençal in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fol. fr. 12744.

exchange among musicians and poets in the Kingdom of Naples.[57] Indeed, the choice to transcribe and collect these songs both with and without musical notation reflects a concerted interest among members of both groups to memorialize what was a communal performance practice. The way these works were written down and compiled in music manuscripts, in particular, reveals a repertory still in flux, negotiating its place in the written medium alongside more established repertories and genres. In Montecassino 871, that negotiation is still very much underway. It can be no coincidence, for example, that the three fascicles with the greatest concentration of Italian-texted works are also the ones with the greatest amount of structural and scribal heterogeneity. The way these particular gatherings are constructed may shed some light upon the process of copying and compilation and, consequently, upon how that process reflects the instability of Neapolitan song in the written medium.

Fascicles I, VIII, and IX

Fascicle I (pp. 247–78) is a sixteen-folio gathering made up of three different paper types (watermarks A, B, and C) and preserves twelve of the manuscript's thirty-two Italian-texted works. The original foliation, numbered 1 through 16, indicates that this gathering survives in the original order and disposition it had at the time of its compilation. Nonetheless, as is evident from figure III.3, it is also structurally complex in that numerous folios were inserted, cut, and pasted throughout.

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57 Outside the Neapolitan context under discussion here, there are only a few other music manuscripts from the last decades of the fifteenth century that preserve a substantial corpus of Italian-texted song (which I define as greater than ten such works): perhaps copied in Geneva in the mid-1470s, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rothschild 2973 (*olim* I.5.13; *Chansonnier Cordiforme*; thirteen Italian-texted works); copied in Florence likely in the mid-1480s, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. franç., Ms. 15123 (Pixérécourt; nineteen Italian-texted works); likely copied in the early 1490s for the Florentine humanist Alessandro Braccesi, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Banco Rari 229 (*olim* Magliab. XIX, 59; approx. eighteen Italian-texted works); and dated October 1495 and copied in Padua, Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. α.F.9.9 (104 Italian-texted works, dedicated especially to the *strambotto* genre). Starting around 1500, the number of Italian-texted works preserved in music manuscripts increased substantially. Some significant examples from the first decades of the sixteenth century include: from the Benedictine abbey of Vallumbrosan order of Santa Trinità, Florence, ca. 1500, London, British Museum, Ms. Egerton 3051+Washington, Library of Congress, MS. M2.1.M6 Case (fifty-three Italian-texted works); copied ca. 1500, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Ms. 55 (sixty Italian-texted works); copied in 1502, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de Musique (Fonds du Conservatoire), Réserve Vm7 676 (seventy-eight Italian-texted works); copied ca. 1500, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Banco Rari 230 (*olim* Magliab. XIX, 141; approx. 160 Italian-texted songs); and copied most likely in the Veneto, ca. 1520, the Marciana part-books Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. It. Cl. IV. 1795–98 (103 Italian-texted works).

	Watermark	Folio	Pagination	Repertory
X / Glue	A	1	247 / 248	"O princeps Pilate" / "Patres nostri" (C, T); **"Io averia voluntate" (C, T)**
X	B	2	249 / 250	"Patres nostri" (C, T); **"Io averia voluntate" (C, T)** / "Adoramus te Domine Xpe"
	--	3	251 / 252	"Adieu m'amour" / "A Florence la gioyeuse cite"
	B	4	253 / 254	"In exitu Israel" / "O salutaris hostia"; "Belles volies" (C)
	C	5	255 / 256	"Belles volies" (C, T, Ct) / "Qu'es mi vida" (C, T)
	--	6	257 / 258	"Qu'es mi vida" (Ca, Cb) / "Puis fortuna m'avis" (C, T)
X / ?? / X	--	7	259 / 260	"Puis fortuna m'avis" (Ct); **"Per poco tempo ch'io so stato fora"** / **"Tanto ha ch'io t'[h]o contato li mei guay"; "O pellegrina" (T)**
X Glue / Glue	--	8	261 / 262	**"O pellegrina" (C, Ct)** / "Suis aprentis" (1ma pars)
X Glue	--	9	263 / 264	"Suis aprentis" (2da pars) / "Donde stas que non te veo" (C, T)
	A	10	265 / 266	"Donde stas que non te veo" (Ct, T) / "Par le regart"
	--	11	267 / 268	**"Voca la galiera"** / "Yerra con poco saber" (Ct); **"Zappay lo campo"**
	B	12	269 / 270	"Yerra con poco saber" (C, T) / "De partes vous"
	--	13	271 / 272	**"La vida de culin"** / **"Amor tu non me gabasti" (C, T, Cb)**
	--	14	273 / 274	**"Amor tu non me gabasti" (Ca); "Piangendo chiamo sorda e cruda morte"** / **"Dolce speranza del cor mio"**
	C	15	275 / 276	**"Moro perché non day fede"** / "Segun las penas" (C, T)
X	--	16	277 / 278	"Segun las penas" (Ct, T) / **"Morte merce gentile aquill'altera"**

Figure III.3. The structure and contents of fascicle I in Montecassino 871 (pp. 247–78).[58]

With its heterogeneous repertory and structure, the gathering as a whole seems to reflect an unusual approach to copying and compilation. Its use of three different paper types treated with numerous cuts and insertions reveal what must have been a complex history in the copying and structuring of the gathering's contents, and yet its folio numbers 1 through 16 demonstrates that it survives much as it was at the time of the full manuscript's original foliation and indexing. Pope and Kanazawa attribute this unusual structure to the fascicle's "local [Neapolitan] colour," going on to suggest that "such a repertory was perhaps assembled in a relatively casual way."[59] If we imagine the various stages of planning, copying, and compilation that the main scribe-compiler must have undertaken, this type of assembly can be understood as an initial lack of pre-planning in the structuring and copying of the gathering's repertory. In fact, in alternating paper types and removing and inserting folios, the scribe-compiler seems to have been using whatever materials were available to him without much concern for structural consistency or presentation

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58 Figure III.3 presents a diagram of fascicle 1 with the following information presented from left to right: (1) general structure with cuts (X) and inserts (glue); (2) watermark (A, B, C, etc.); (3) original folio number; (4) current pagination; (5) repertory copied on a given page and, when relevant, specific voice types present. Italian-texted works are highlighted in bold-faced type.

59 Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 12.

and, perhaps, without the goal of creating a cohesive musical gathering in mind. The stark contrast between this gathering's material make-up and that of the following fascicle II, constructed from seven intact bifolia in a single paper type, could not be more apparent.

The Italian-texted works within this "casual" structure seem to have been copied in a couple of different ways. First, several of these pieces were inserted into the spaces left only after other pieces from the more formally composed sacred, Franco-Flemish, or Spanish repertories had been copied first. This is especially the case with some of the shorter works, such as "Zappay lo campo" and "Per poco tempo ch'io so stato fora," which are found in the empty staves below the contratenor part of longer polyphonic works with texts in Spanish and French: "Yerra con poco saber" by Cornago and "Puis fortuna m'avis," respectively. The scribe's pragmatic use of space in these cases demonstrates the primacy of the Spanish- and French-texted polyphonic works in the overall *mise en page*, which is further illustrated by the clear shift in ink color in "Zappay" and "Per poco tempo" against the other works on the page. Indeed, the Italian-texted works on these two manuscript openings are both copied with a reddish-brown ink, while the Spanish and French pieces are in black, suggesting that the works were copied at different times despite being on the same folios.

Another telling example of this secondary copying style can be found on the manuscript's very first opening (pp. 248–49), where "Io averia voluntate"—the *secuna pars* of the four-voice *barzelletta* "Amor tu non me gabasti"—is squeezed into the bottom two staves of each page after the scribe had previously copied a four-voice sacred lamentation by Cornago, "Patres nostri peccaverunt." Given that the full *prima* and *secunda partes* of "Amor tu non me gabasti" appear together later on in this same fascicle (pp. 272–73), it is not entirely clear why the scribe has chosen to include this text here as well, nor is it usual for music scribes of this period to repeat portions of texts in this way.[60] One might posit, nonetheless, that since folios 1 and 2, preserving the independent "Io averia voluntate," are both fragmentary inserts missing their counterfolios, the scribe may not have originally conceived of them as part of a unified structural unit with those folios (13 and 14) transmitting the full *barzelletta* later in the gathering. Moreover, the text of "Io averia voluntate" could, in fact, have been copied with Cornago's "Patres nostri peccaverunt" as part of a fragmentary intertextual pairing. In fact, since "Amor tu non me gabasti" has a *cantasi come* setting with the sacred *lauda* text "Vergine madre i' sono a te venuto" in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 2896, I would conjecture that

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60 Because this is the *secuna pars* of a larger two-part work, this kind of repeated copying is unlike what often happens in literary manuscripts of the period (for example, the Neapolitan literary anthology Vaticano latino 10656) where individual poems, especially shorter lyric texts, are often inadvertently repeated in different sections of the collection.

the portion of the *lauda* corresponding to the *barzelletta's secunda pars* could possibly be placed here in a vernacular-devotional juxtaposition with Cornago's Latin lamentation.[61] The manuscript's concluding *tabula* lists both "Io averia voluntate" and "Amor tu non me gabasti" separately, indicating that, in spite of the explanatory rubric in the margin of "Io averia voluntate" identifying it as the "2da pars de amor non me gabaste,"[62] the scribe-compiler ultimately considered the two copies to be separate musical texts.

Another way in which this repertory appears in the fascicle is in distinct groupings, such as what one finds on folios 13 and 14, and to some extent 15 and 16. Indeed, these four folios preserve the remaining works of the fascicle in two concentrated sets. First, on folios 13 and 14, "La vida de culin," the full version of "Amor tu non me gabasti" (both *prima* and *secunda partes*), "Piangendo chiamo sorda e gruda morte," and "Dolce speranza del cor mio" are all copied in quick succession in a consistent scribal style and ink color. All of these works are anonymous Italian-texted songs, and two of them ("La vida de culin" and "Amor tu non me gabasti") have concordances in the Neapolitan literary anthology Paris 1035.

In copying this repertory, the scribe-compiler attempts to fit as much music as possible on a given page (or folio side) in what I call a "compact choirbook" format.[63] Compact choirbook format is defined as a layout in choirbook-style manuscripts in which individual voices are copied out with the same level of separation that one might see in typical choirbook format, but in a much smaller amount of space, such that voices are typically stacked one on top of another in order to use up all the available writing space on the page.[64] The *mise en page* in this section is typical of

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61 The *cantasi come lauda* indication in Riccardiana 2896 (fol. 65r) for the anonymous "Vergine madre i' sono a te venuto" is unique to that source. See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 503; Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 129.

62 This rubric is found in the left outside margin of Montecassino 871, p. 248, next to the first staff of music for "Io averia voluntate" (the second up from the bottom of the page).

63 I came to start using this term in consultation with Anne MacNeil at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill during our work together on the digital humanities project "IDEA Music/a" ("Isabella D'Este Archive"), website no longer accessible. My deepest gratitude goes to Anne for helping me to identify this as the most representative (and succinct) way of describing the layout of so many of the works I have studied for this book.

64 Another term that has been identified for this kind of format is what Jessie Ann Owens has called "quasi-score" or "pseudo-score," in which "individual voices each occupy a single staff and are superimposed one above the other, not necessarily in the order high to low, and without bar lines or vertical alignment." As Owens explains, "The decision to use this format . . . seems to be primarily a function of the length of the music and the amount of space available." Owens, *Composers at Work*, 35, 38. I prefer the term "compact choirbook" to Owens's "quasi-score," however, for two reasons: first, because the term "quasi-score" implies that one could potentially read all voice parts simultaneous, as in the much later "score" format—indeed, Owens also notes this problematic relationship between "quasi-score" and "score" (ibid., 38); and second, and perhaps more importantly, because the musical texts I work with do not always fit exactly on a single staff per voice and are not always stacked precisely; rather, each voice is copied wherever and however space allows.

how Italian-texted works appear throughout the fascicle and, ultimately, throughout the manuscript as a whole. The only song that is not written entirely on one page is, in fact, "Amor non me gabasti," but even here, this is clearly due to the length of the work itself, which requires more space, and not to any concern for a more spacious layout. As shown in figure III.4, three voices appear on the verso side of the manuscript opening (p. 272) while the fourth is at the top of the recto side folio (p. 273) with all four voices of "Piangendo chiamo" written out below it.

Beginning on folio 15 (or p. 275), there is a very minor shift in scribal style, with slightly darker, smaller note-shapes and lettering than those of the previous section. This style is used in copying the mix of Italian- and Spanish-texted works on folios 15 and 16 (pp. 275–78) of fascicle I, which were composed by Spanish members of the musical chapel, Juan Cornago and Pedro Oriola—"Moro perché non day fede," "Segun las penas," and "Morte merce gentile aquill'altera." Given that these works are both generically and stylistically related to each other, it can be no coincidence that the scribe-compiler grouped them together in this way, and his choices about the layout of each song maintains once again the lower textual status of Italian-texted works compared to other repertories. Indeed, in contrast to the preceding Italian songs, the Spanish-texted "Segun las penas" by Juan Cornago on pages 276 to 277 is given a spacious choirbook format across a full manuscript opening with no additional music added into the empty space on the page (figure III.5). Meanwhile, Cornago's Italian-texted pieces copied directly before and after "Segun las penas" are each relegated to a one-page compact choirbook format, even when space is lacking as in the Cantus part of "Moro perche non day fede" on page 275 (see figure III.6).

This concluding group of Spanish-authored secular songs also provides a point of connection between fascicles I and II. Copied on the first folio side of fascicle II (p. 279), the handwriting and layout of Oriola's macaronic *barzelletta* "O vos omnes qui transite" reveals striking similarities to the copying of Cornago's "Morte merze gentile" on the facing page 278 (and the other Spanish-authored works in its group). Moreover, the stark contrast between the scribal style in "O vos omnes" and that of the psalm settings that follow suggests that the *barzelletta* setting was added later, after the full repertory of fascicle II had already been copied. Oriola's *barzelletta*, then, was almost certainly copied as part of the final repertorial group in fascicle I on folios 15 and 16, and thus bridges the gap between the highly distinct fascicles I and II: the first, an informal compilation of disparate leaves copied and preserved over time; the second, a structurally uniform gathering preserving a coherent repertory in a formal scribal style.

At the other end of the manuscript's structure, fascicles VIII and IX are similarly constructed from several different paper types with numerous cuts and insertions throughout. The sixteen folios of fascicle VIII (pp. 395–426) are made up of five
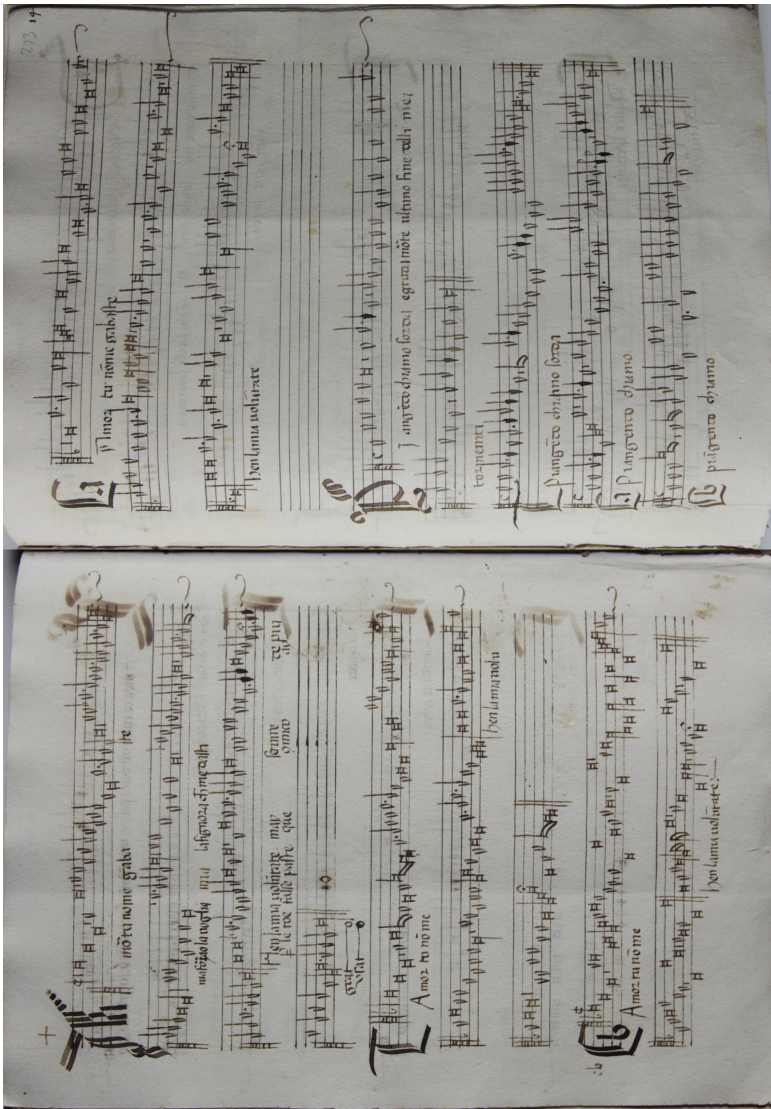
Figure III.4. Montecassino 871, pp. 272–73.
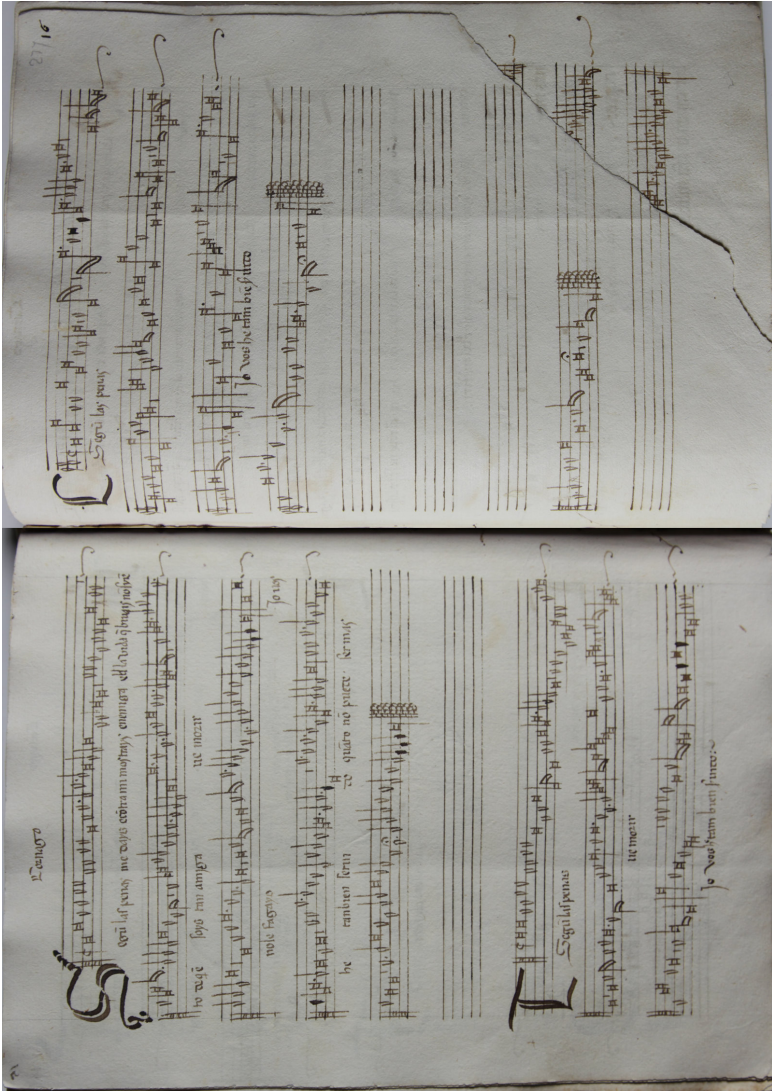
Figure III.5. Montecassino 871, pp. 276–77.
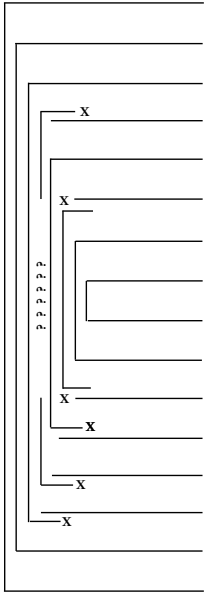
Figure III.6. Montecassino 871, p. 275, "Moro perche non day fede."

different paper types, the highest number of any gathering in the manuscript. The original foliation of this gathering is mutilated and renumbered to such an extent that it is exceeding difficult to know exactly what the original order was (see figure III.7). Nonetheless, we can learn a few key things. First, the current folio numbers (renumbered from 132 to 147) indicate that this fascicle was once placed before fascicle VII (fols. 148–61) in the manuscript's larger structure. Moreover, a comparison of the current and original folio numbers shows that certain leaves, such as folio 143 (originally 129), were at one time placed in another part of the gathering from their current position.

Watermark	Foliation (current/original)	Pagination	Repertoire
--	132/?	395	[Untexted, incomplete]
		396	"Ung lanceman a tout" (C, T)
H(1)	133/?	397	"Ung lanceman a tout" (Ct, T)
		398	"De dos la mer" (C, T)
G	134/?	399	"De dos la mer" (Ct, T)
		400	"Mes pensees" (C, T)
--	135/?	401	"Mes pensees" (Ct, T)
		402	"Ave regina celorum" (C, T)
G	136/?	403	"Ave regina celorum" (Ct, T)
		404	**"Non sia gyamay" (C, T)**
--	137/?	405	**"Non sia gyamay" (Ct, T)**
		406	"Puisque je vis"
--	138/131	407	**"In tempo che facia lo sacrificio"**
		408	"Cum autem venissem" (2 voices)
F	139/132	409	"Cum autem venissem" (2 voices)
		410	"Ave verum corpus" (C, T)
--	140/135	411	"Ave verum corpus" (Ct)
		412	"Clemens de loy" (C, T)
F	142/136	413	"Clemens de loy" (Ct)
		414	"Tart ara mon cueur" (C, T)
--	143/129	415	"Tart ara mon cueur" (Ct); "Sepulcrum singnantes"
		416	**"Quanto mi dolse sta crudel partita"; "Quanto mi dolse la nigra partita"**
B	144A/138	417	**"Din diri din"**
		418	**"Amor que t'o fat'hio"; "Cor mio volonturiuso" (C, T)**
--	144/139	419	**"Vedo che fortuna me contrasta"; "Cor mio volonturiuso" (Ca, Cb)**
		420	**"Chiave, chiave" (C, T, Cb)**
A	145/140	421	**"Chiave, chiave" (Ca); "O tempo bono e chi me t'[h]a levato"**
		422	**"Alle stamengne" (C, T, Cb)**
H(2)	146/141	423	**"Alle stamengne" (Ca)**
		424	**"Alta regina" (C, T)**
--	147/?	425	**"Alta regina" (Ct, T)**
		426	"Mon fort souspirz"

Figure III.7. The structure and contents of fascicle 8 in Montecassino 871 (pp. 395–426).[65]

The original numbers are unfortunately missing from the first six folios, two of which were inserted as separate leaves, and the musical works copied on those opening leaves do not appear in the manuscript's *tabula*. We might posit, then, as Pope

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65 As in figure III.3 earlier in this chapter, in figure III.7, each leaf of the fascicle is given the following information in subsequent columns from left to right: watermark, foliation (current/original), pagination, and repertoire (with voice part indications when appropriate). The original foliation numbers are identified through a comparative analysis with the manuscript's *tabula* in the fascicle diagram in Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 15.

and Kanazawa have, that these works were added to the compilation only after the original foliation and *tabula* had been completed.[66]
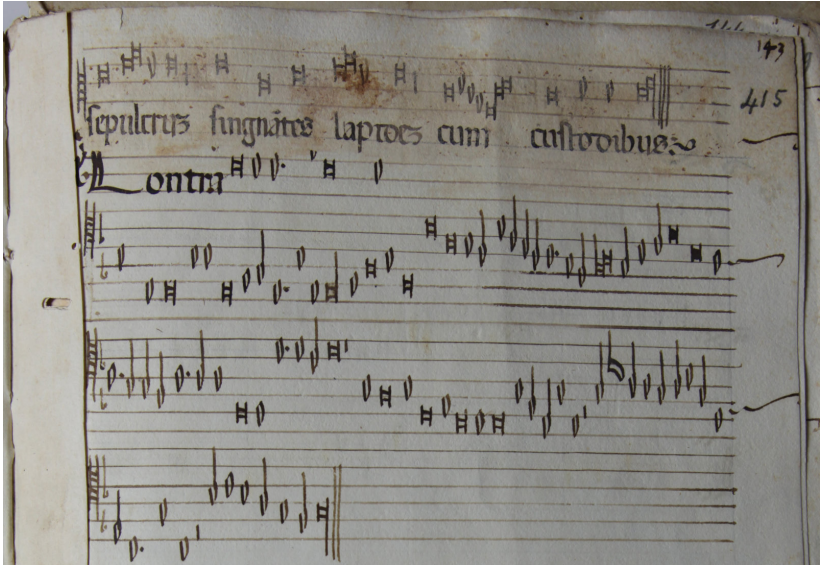
Figure III.8. Montecassino 871, top half of p. 415.

In spite of the gathering's structural disarray, however, the varied repertory within it seems to be copied and grouped in a rational and orderly way, and always in the hand of the main scribe. In fact, even inserted leaves preserve the appropriate musical material to complement the facing page in choirbook format—for example, "Mes pensees," "Ave regina celorum," and "Non sia gyamay" on four leaves (currently numbered fols. 134–37) cut from their corresponding counterfolia. And there is only one case in the gathering as a whole, wherein a musical fragment seems to result from the repositioning of an independent folium: the recto side of the previously mentioned folio 143/129 (p. 415) upon which the musical text "Sepulcrum singnantes" appears as a pasted-on fragment above the Contra part of the French chanson "Tart ara mon cueur" (see figure III.8).

Similarly to fascicle I, this gathering preserves a mixture of sacred and secular songs with texts in Italian, French, Spanish, and Latin. Within this varied repertory, there

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66 Works in fascicle VII that do not appear in the *tabula* are as follows: "Ung lanceman a tout," "De dos la mer," "Mes pensees," "Ave regina celorum," "Non sia gyamay," "Puisque je vis," "Ave verum corpus," Clemens de loy," "Tart ara mon cueur," and "Alta regina." For a full reconstruction of this fascicle, as well as the rest of the manuscript, see ibid., 21–27.

are twelve Italian-texted songs, ten of which are grouped together towards the end of the fascicle from pp. 416 to 425. Moreover, the songs that are not grouped in this primarily Italian-texted section seem to belong to different repertorial groupings within the gathering. For example, "Non sia gyamay," which is an Italian-texted version of Charles the Bold's "Madame trop vos me spremes," is copied as a later addition to the fascicle along with several other French chansons. The *strambotto* "In tempo che facia lo sacrificio," on the other hand, is copied with sacred Latin works, "Cum autem venissem" and "Ave verum corpus," as a vernacular commentary on the vicissitudes of the priesthood and its sacrifices: "Back when I made sacrifices / I was considered a sacred priest / . . . / And now that I no longer serve in that office / I am called a disruptor of the order [*guastordene*]."[67] Further proven by shifts in scribal style from one group to the next, this kind of thematic distinction among sets of musical works hints at the way Italian-texted song performance may have influenced other repertories in Neapolitan musical life—a crucial ingredient in tempering the French and Spanish musical styles, as Galateo would say.[68]

Nevertheless, as previously stated, the vast majority of the Italian-texted works are found toward the end of the gathering as a cohesive group, copied in a consistent scribal style and presented in compact choirbook layout. Here again, we find the scribe-compiler drawing together thematically or even compositionally related works, as in the pairing of two strikingly similar *strambotti*—"Quanto mi dolse sta crudel partita" and "Quanto mi dolse la nigra partita"—in a stacked compact choirbook format on page 416 (see figure III.9).[69] In addition, despite a slight shift in scribal style, the two *canti carnascialeschi*— "Chiave chiave" and "Alle stamengne"—are also placed together on pages 420 to 423. Even with these repertorial connections in the gathering's layout and ordering, though, the scribe-compiler's main priority in the presentation of Italian-texted song appears to be, first and foremost, about copying as much music in as little space as possible. This is evident from the economical approach to space taken in the *mise en page* of manuscript openings, sometimes preserving as many as three individual songs. For example, pages 418 to 419 present "Amor que t'o fat'hio," "Cor mio volonturiuso," and "Vedo che la fortuna me contrasta" with "Cor mio" copied in the bottom three staves across the manuscript opening and the other two works occupying the top five staves of each page individually (see figure III.10).

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67 The full text is transmitted in Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 115v: "Un tempo che facea lo sacrificio / Era tenuto prevete sacrato / Fortuna me ave[a] dato un beneficio / Tenealo senza bolla accomandato / Un jorno che mancai a lo servicio / Perdendo le fatiche fui cassato / Cossi che piu non faczo tale officio / Guastordene da tucti son chiamato."

68 See my discussion of Galateo's writings on music at the end of part II.

69 For more on these two *strambotti*, and other related concordances, see my discussion below.

Figure III.9. Montecassino 871, p. 416 ("Quanto mi dolse" complex).
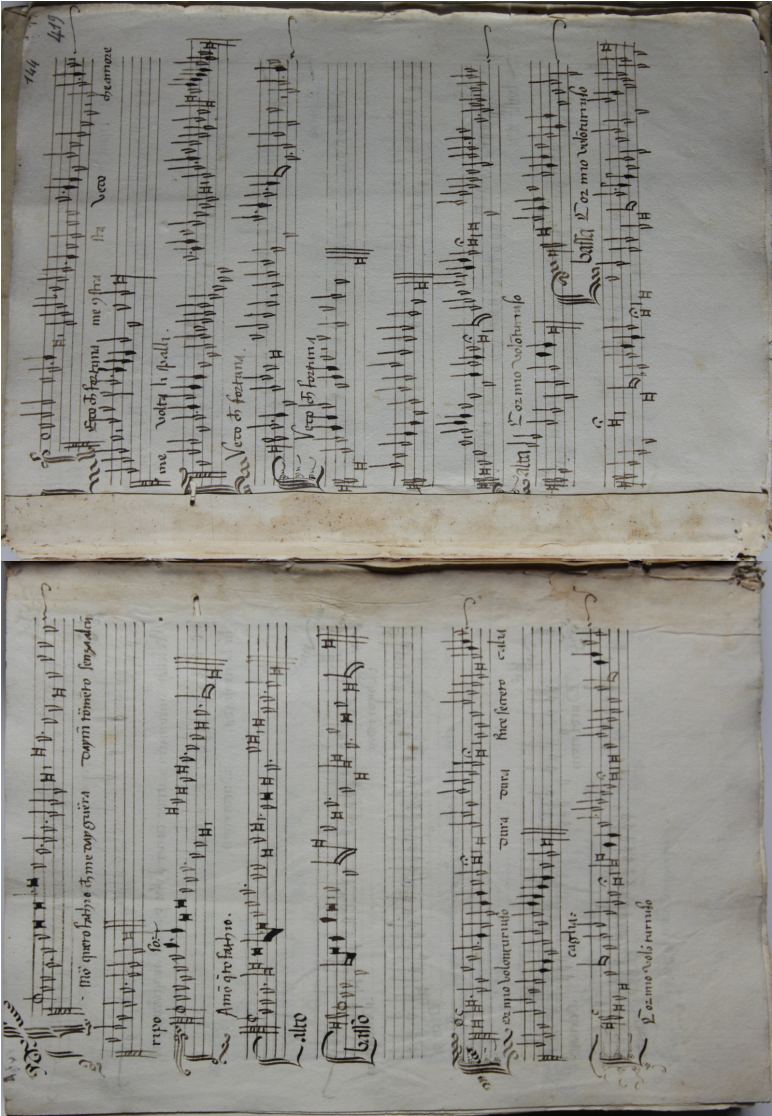
Figure III.10. Montecassino 871, pp. 418–19.

Just as in fascicles I and VIII, this economical style of *impaginazione* is equally evident in the three Italian-texted works in fascicle IX (pp. 427–34), which survives only as a gathering of four individual leaves identified by three different watermarks and pasted together with glue (figure III.11).

X ———————————————	--	148/156	427	"Adieu madamme"
			428	"Christus factus est"
Glue				
X ———————————————	B	149/158	429	Musical fragment; "Sanctus"
			430	**"Sera nel cor mio doglia e tormento"**
Glue				
X ———————————————	D	150/159	431	**"Correno multi cani ad una caça"**
			432	**"Io vegio la mia vita ja finire"**
Glue				
X ———————————————	A	151/?	433	Index
			434	Index cont'd

Figure III.11. The structure and contents of fascicle 9 in Montecassino 871 (pp. 427–34).[70]

The Italian-texted works in this fragmentary gathering are all Neapolitan *strambotti* copied in the typical compact choirbook format and grouped together on two of the four manuscript leaves. The manuscript opening that juxtaposes "Sera nel cor mio" and "Correno multi cani" is particularly significant in that it mirrors a similar grouping of those two works in Perugia 431.[71] Even in its fragmentary state, then, this fascicle manages to provide some coherence in its economical preservation of Italian-texted song.

The gathering concludes with the manuscript's *tabula* or index, copied on two sides of a single folio identified by watermark A. Given the obvious structural and material separation of this folio from the others in the fascicle, then, it is likely that the scribe-compiler kept it as a separate reference sheet to be updated and added to during the compilation process before adding it to the end of the collection at some point along the way. Yet, it does not reflect the collection's final version; in fact, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, a comparison of the current repertory with the works listed in the original *tabula* reveals some substantial changes, losses, and additions, many of which were made by the main scribe-compiler.[72]

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70 As in previous similar figures, in figure III.11, each leaf of the fascicle is given the following information in subsequent columns from left to right: watermark, foliation (current/original), pagination, and repertoire.

71 The two concordant openings are found in Montecassino 871, pp. 430–31 and Perugia 431, fols. 107v–108r. Atlas also notices this concordant pairing in Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 51. For more detail on the differences between these two concordant openings, see my discussion in the following section on Perugia 431.

72 In fact, according to the manuscript's *tabula*, there were originally four additional Italian-texted songs in this section, which are now lost: "Su la riva" and two different versions of "O rosa bella" in what Pope and Kanazawa have called lost fascicle A; and "Poyche bivo super" in lost fascicle B. For the placement of these lost fascicles, see the reconstruction in Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 16–17. The *tabula* indicates the following manuscript openings for these songs by using the folio number for the recto side of a given manuscript opening: fol. 58 (understood as anywhere on the

If what we have here is, indeed, the personal collection of a single scribe, who seems to have been copying various works over the course of some time, this *tabula* can be viewed as a guidepost for the point at which the collection took shape as a unified volume. Yet, as we have seen in fascicle VIII especially, it was not the last stage of revision in the ordering and adding of musical works. Rather, the scribe-compiler continued to edit, augment, and rearrange his collection for some time beyond this point. The various works that he copied were in constant flux—especially those of lower status in written sources of polyphony. The numerous paper types used in certain fascicles—in particular, those preserving Italian-texted works—and the prevalence of structural mutilation in those fascicles shows not only a lack of initial planning, but also, in the case of fascicles VIII and IX, a revisionist approach to the compilation as a whole. The frequent shifts in scribal style seem to reflect the various stages of copying over time, certainly, but also the varied approach taken to different genres and repertories.

Within this context, the Italian-texted songs appear as mementos, rendered on the page in such a way that they could be remembered and recreated, either in the mind or in performance. Their physical disposition is one of purposeful inclusion in a medium to which they do not quite adhere. And yet, the scribe-compiler copies them in individual insertions or smaller thematically or generically related groups with a consistent effort toward preservation. They appear as both an afterthought and a decided effort to remember, and as such they present us with one of the first, and most significant, representations of this vast performance practice within the written medium.

Perugia 431

Introduction

Similar to Montecassino 871, Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," Ms. G 20 (*alias* 431) is also a miscellaneous collection of sacred and secular works produced in a monastic environment. As both Michael Hernon and Allan Atlas have argued, this manuscript's provenance is undoubtedly Neapolitan given its contents, paper types, and concordances with other major Neapolitan sources (in particular Montecassino 871).[73] Atlas did, however, misidentify the manuscript's sacred contents as indicative of a Benedictine community—like that of Monte-

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opening 57v–58r) for "Su la riva," fol. 61 (60v–61r) for "O rosa bella," fol. 62 (61v–62r) for the second version of "O rosa bella," and fol. 88 (87v–88r) for "Poyche bivo super." See the reproduction of the *tabula* in Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 6–8.

73   See Hernon, "Perugia MS 431," 119–33; Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance"; and the brief description in Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, 1:253–54.

cassino—and posited that the collection was copied and compiled at the Monastero dei Santi Severino e Sossio di Napoli.[74] In fact, as Giulio Cattin demonstrated, the manuscript's sacred contents reveal an undoubted connection to the Franciscan office and, thus, could not have originated in a Benedictine monastery.[75] Rather, given the manuscript's attributions to composers from Ortona and its connections to Neapolitan poets in the intellectual circle of the Count of Popoli Giovanni Cantelmo, the most likely place of origin would be the Franciscan Convento di Santa Maria delle Grazie in Ortona (Abruzzo).[76] In summarizing these points, Galliano Ciliberti hypothesized that Perugia 431's likely provenance at Santa Maria delle Grazie can be further understood in terms of the connections between that monastery and the Convento di San Francesco al Monte in Perugia, where the manuscript ultimately came into the possession of the Baglioni family by the end of the fifteenth century.[77] The dating of the manuscript's production was suggested in Atlas's detailed repertorial and material study, which placed it most likely in the mid-1480s.[78]

In contrast to Montecassino 871, Perugia 431 seems to have been compiled with a more formal preparatory approach. In both the materials used and the structural integrity of its fascicles, the manuscript's compilation adheres to a much clearer organizational plan. Yet, in another point of contrast, its copying was executed by an unusually high number of scribes, which shift with striking frequency throughout. Within this unusual structuring, which is simultaneously cohesive and varied, the manuscript's compilers preserved the largest number of Italian-texted pieces out of all four Neapolitan sources of the period: indeed, forty-eight of its 134 sacred and secular works are Italian-texted *strambotti*, *barzellette*, *canti carnascialeschi*, *ballate*, *ode*, and other irregular forms.[79] Often copied with much greater care than what one finds in comparable portions of Montecassino 871, the Italian-texted repertory in this manuscript is given greater prominence than any other secular style within the collection and equal representation to the collection's sacred repertory. Even so, a significant portion of this written repertory can still be connected to the oral practice of singing Neapolitan lyric through several key factors, including

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74 Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 55–56.

75 Cattin, "Il repertorio polifonico sacro," 34–40.

76 Ibid.

77 Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 31. It is worth noting, however, that the first scholar to suggest a connection to the Baglioni family in Perugia was Michael Hernon. See Hernon, "Perugia MS 431," 127–28 and 131–32.

78 Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 56–58.

79 As with Montecassino 871, my count here is high compared with that of other scholars because I include works preserved with Italian texts in other Neapolitan manuscripts, even when their texts are not Italian in this particular source. Hernon, for example, lists only forty-four "Italian songs . . . determined on the basis of their texts" in his study of Perugia 431. See Hernon, "Perugia MS 431," 153–64 (at 153).

genre, musical style, and concordance data. Particularly striking among these is the fact that twenty-six out of forty-eight of these works are unica, thus demonstrating a remarkably limited written transmission.[80]

As I will show, Perugia 431 represents what is, quite likely, a turning point for the transmission of Neapolitan song in written sources. The careful preservation and rich material treatment of much of the manuscript's Italian-texted repertory diverges considerably from the sketch-like, informal quality of the works copied in Montecassino 871. Moreover, as I discuss in what follows, the numerous shifts in scribal hand in the sections preserving Italian-texted song signal a communal approach to the compilation and preservation of that repertory in particular. The frequent presence of different music and text scribes, who often fill in each other's work, reveals a marked effort to transmit these songs as musico-poetic entities, requiring the presence of both music and text for the copy to be complete. Perhaps most significantly, among these shifts in copying, there are scribal and editorial interventions that reflect what seems to be a living performance practice well after their initial copying. In the manuscript's distinct physical, structural, and textual features, then, the Italian-texted repertory is, at once, valued within the written medium and treated as a constant work-in-progress.

Physical Description

Measuring approximately 14.0 × 21.1 cm,[81] Perugia 431 is a small, notebook-sized manuscript, preserving its mixed collection of sacred and secular works on 163 paper folios. The collection appears to have been bound originally in brown leather with a framed floral pattern embossed on the front and back covers, and currently survives with two guard leaves, one at the front and one at the back. Following some significant decay, the manuscript's binding and many of its paper folios were restored sometime in the mid-twentieth century.[82] There are two systems of foliation utilized throughout the manuscript: a set of original Arabic numerals, written in red ink at the middle of the top margin on the verso side of each folio (surviving as folios 6 through 164); and a set of modern ones, numbered 1 through

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80 For more on the number of unica in the Italian-texted repertory, see part V.

81 This measurement accounts for the paper without the binding. With the binding, the measurement is approximately 21.4 × 14.4 cm.

82 In my conversations with Francesca Grauso, the head librarian-archivist at the Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta" in Perugia, I learned that, based on the notes inside the front cover and the style of restoration, the original binding was almost certainly restored in the 1950s. Notes at the front of the codex on the first guardleaf, pasted into the current binding, are in the hand of the former head librarian Giovanni Cecchini, who first started working at the Biblioteca Comunale in the 1940s. It seems that the restoration of some of the paper folios (at the corners especially) was also done at the same time.

163 and written in light gray or red pencil at the top right corner of each recto side. The paper itself is treated with consistent preparation procedures throughout the manuscript. All pages have six pre-ruled five-line staves measuring approximately 10 cm in length across the page and, altogether, taking up a vertical height of about 15 cm depending on spacing of the top and bottom margins, which are typically 2.5 cm and 3.5 cm respectively. The staves are then drawn by a rastrum in faded dark brown ink as a final step in the preparation for the copying of musical texts.

There are three main paper types used throughout the manuscript's fifteen-fascicle structure, as well as two others, each appearing only once. The distinct watermarks for these paper types are identified in table III.9. The main paper types, identified by watermarks 1 through 3, are employed throughout the manuscript, and often in conjunction with each other. Watermark 1, in particular, appears to be the most significant paper type in the manuscript's compilation, as it is found in nearly every fascicle. Watermarks 2 and 3, on the other hand, seem to be used more sparingly, often in conjunction with watermark 1, and only occasionally on their own. As I will discuss, the disposition of these watermarks within the collection and their connection to different scribal shifts and repertories may prove revealing in our understanding of the manuscript's organization and overall production.

WM	Description	Fasc.	Briquet no. (dating/provenance)
1	Sailboat with heart	II, III, IV, V, VI, VIII, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV	Similar to Briquet no. 11960 (Florence, 1480)
2	Letter R	IV, V, IX, XI, XIII, XIV	Similar to Briquet no. 8940 (Naples, 1463; variants Rome, 1465–68)
3	Hunting horn[83]	VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XV	Similar to Briquet no. 7698 (Naples, 1480; variants Naples, 1483–95, Rome, 1487, and Florence, 1498)
4	Undecipherable	Folio insertion in fascicle IV	?
5	Shield/Eagle with letter S	Closing guardleaf	? (later addition to the manuscript)

Table III.9. Watermarks in Perugia 431.[84]

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83 This watermark is very similar (if not identical) to watermark D in Montecassino 871.

84 These watermark designations (numbered 1 through 5) are also used in the discussion of watermarks in Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 22–25.

Perugia 431 is made up of fifteen fascicles, most of which are sexterns.[85] With the exception of fascicle I, all of these gatherings are structurally intact with no cuts and only a few insertions. Fascicle I, unfortunately, survives in a fragmentary state as the lone central bifolium of what was once a larger twelve-folio sextern. It is possible that the missing folios prior to folio 1 (fol. 6 in the original foliation) contained an index for the collection as a whole and might have provided a more coherent picture of the manuscript's planning and copying, in spite of its numerous scribes. Nonetheless, the surviving structure of the other fascicles provides clear enough evidence that the materials for the collection were carefully prepared and organized prior to the start of the copying process. Indeed, as seen in table III.10, almost all fifteen fascicles are structurally consistent gatherings made up of only one or two paper types and copied, more often than not, by a handful of scribes in shifting styles.

Fasc.	Folios	WM	Shifts[86]	Structural features	Contents
I	1–2 (6–7)	none	2	Central bifolium surviving from orig. twelve-folio sextern	Sacred hymns
II	3–12 (13–22)	1	5	Full quintern with no cuts or insertions, 1 paper type	Mass ordinary settings
III	13–24 (23–34)	1	2	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 1 paper type	Mass ordinary and full mass settings
IV	25–36 (35–46)	1, 2, 4	12	Full sextern with a half page insertion (fol. 26) between the first two folios (25 and 26bis), 2 paper types	Mass ordinary and full mass settings, one litany, and two *laude*
V	37–48 (47–58)	1, 2	1	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	Several textless and Italian-texted works (some with attributions to Ycart and Isaac), one litany

Table III.10. Fascicle structure of Perugia 431.

85 Atlas and, subsequently, Ciliberti both make the point that the sextern is a typical gathering size for Neapolitan manuscripts of this period and, thus, provides another point of evidence for Perugia 431's Neapolitan provenance. Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 47–48; Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 29. Atlas points out that the practice of structuring manuscript fascicles in sexterns in Naples began at the Neapolitan *Studio*, which had drawn upon the sextern-based *pecia* system in Paris. See Destrez, *La Pecia dans les manuscrits*, 47; cited in Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 48, n. 16.

86 For a full list and description of these shifts in copying, see table III.12.

Fasc.	Folios	WM	Shifts	Structural features	Contents
VI	49–60 (59–70)	1, 3	4	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	French-, Italian-, Spanish-texted, and textless secular works; one antiphon and one motet
VII	61–70 (71–80)	3	1	Full quintern with no cuts or insertions, 1 paper type	French- and Italian-texted works, one Spanish and one textless
VIII	71–82 (81–92)	1, 3	1	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	French-, Italian-, and Spanish-texted works
IX	83–92 (93–102)	2, 3	4	Full quintern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	French- and Italian-works, one antiphon
X	93–104 (103–14)	1, 3	6	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	Mostly Italian-texted works, one French-texted, one *basse danse*, one textless, one sacred hymn
XI	105–16 (115–26)	1, 2	4	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	All Italian-texted works
XII	117–28 (127–38)	1	5	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	Mix of Italian-texted and sacred works
XIII	129–40 (139–50)	1, 2	5	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	Sacred works, magnificats
XIV	141–52 (151–62)	1, 2	2	Full sextern with no cuts or insertions, 2 paper types	Magnificats, hymns
XV	153–63 (163–??)	1, 3	9	Full quintern with an additional inserted folio (154) between the first two folios (153 and 155)	Various sacred works: hymns, *laude*, antiphons, litanies, etc.

Table III.10 (*continued*).

The fifteen-fascicle musical collection in Perugia 431 was copied by numerous scribal hands, which seem to have been employed for the transcription of music, text, or both at various points throughout the manuscript. The question of how many scribal hands are actually present has been answered in conflicting ways in the previous scholarship on this manuscript, and generally without specific reference to the frequent discrepancies in style between music and text. Hernon identifies and describes eight scribal hands, while Ciliberti finds at least fifteen.[87] In contrast,

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87 Hernon, "Perugia MS 431," 16–54; Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 25–26 and 59–63.

Giuliano Di Bacco suggests that the manuscript may not be the work of more than three or four hands, which correspond to shifts in repertory.[88]

Although I agree with Di Bacco that the "handwriting oscillat[es] among various semi-gothic and humanistic, calligraphic and cursive forms,"[89] I have found the identification of a definitive number of scribes to be untenable due to the inconsistent and often informal nature of their script—in both music notation and text—throughout the manuscript. What is clear, however, is the unusual frequency with which scribal hands, ink colors, and decorative initials shift. Based on my analysis, there are likely about nine scribes: at least six are responsible for the manuscript's central repertory, while the other three (one of which is the sixteenth-century Perugian intellectual Raffaello Sozi)[90] supplied later additions or revisions to the pre-existing music in empty spaces left by the original scribes. I have provided a tentative description of the six main scribes, who collaborated in the manuscript's original compilation, in table III.11.

Scribe	Description	Role in the manuscript
A	Semi-gothic hand with angular note-shapes and fairly consistent scribal features, such as clefs and *custos*; uncertain pen-strokes, especially in stems, which are often crooked	Responsible for short two- to three-folio sections in fascicles I, II, IX, X, and XV
B	Semi-gothic hand with more rounded note heads and thicker, more certain pen-strokes; inconsistent approach to copying clefs and *custodes*	Responsible for three- to five-folio sections in fascicles I, II, III, IV, VI, X, XII, XIV
C	Semi-gothic hand with thin, precise pen-strokes (often accompanied by decorative initial style 2); inconsistent approach to copying clefs and *custodes*	Responsible for two- to four-folio sections in fascicles II, III, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, as well as textual additions and interventions throughout and the theoretical treatise copied in fascicle XV
D	Informal humanistic script; inconsistencies in note shapes (rounded and square), stems, clefs, and bar lines (very crooked)	Responsible for brief repertorial and voice-part additions, clearly made in blank spaces left by other scribes, in fascicles IV and XV

Table III.11. Tentative description of the main scribal hands in Perugia 431.

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88   Di Bacco, "PERUGIA," 550.

89   "scrittura oscillante fra diverse forme semigotiche e umanistiche, calligrafiche e corsive." Ibid.

90   On Sozi's ownership of Perugia 431 in the mid- to late sixteenth century, see Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 47–58. For a table listing Sozi's additions to the manuscript, see ibid., 53.

Scribe	Description	Role in the manuscript
E	Informal humanistic script; rounded note heads with thick pen-strokes; inconsistencies in scribal features like clefs and *custodes*; never accompanied by decorative initials	Responsible for a large fifteen-folio section encompassing all of fascicle V and portions of fascicles IV and VI, as well as shorter two- and three-folio sections in fascicles X, XII, and XV
F	Formal gothic script with precise, purposeful pen-strokes and angular note-shapes (similar to scribe C); typically accompanied by decorative initial styles 4 and 5	Responsible for large sections encompassing all of fascicles VII and VIII, as well as portions of fascicles VI, IX, XI, XII, XIII, and XV

Table III.11 (*continued*).

Added to the scribes listed here are the three later hands responsible for interventions following the manuscript's original compilation. These are: scribe X, responsible for the half page insertion in fascicle IV, as well as other additions later on in the collection; scribe Y, the Perugian intellectual Sozi, who owned the manuscript in the mid-sixteenth century; and scribe Z, a student hand that often accompanies Sozi's interventions (likely under his tutelage).

Furthermore, as shown in tables III.10 and III.12, nine out of fifteen fascicles have four or more scribal shifts, while the remaining six have only one or two. The smallest structural unit for which a given hand is responsible appears to be the two-folio manuscript opening, and the prevalence of this unit in scribal shifts often results in a given hand copying over the divide between two fascicles, as happens between every fascicle in the codex with the exception of the transition from fascicle XIV to XV. Moreover, while certain scribes seem to bear the sole responsibility for individual fascicles—for example, the single scribe responsible for fascicles VII and VIII (scribe F) or the other (clearly different) one responsible for fascicle V (scribe E)—the intervention of multiple hands in most other gatherings, many of which bridge the gap from one fascicle to the next, reveals a multifaceted and communal effort in the copying and compilation of this collection.

The extent of these shifts in copying is summarized in table III.12, wherein each row represents a distinct scribal intervention identified by changes in the handwriting, ink color, decorative initials, and other features.

Foliation (modern)	Fasc.	Shifts between music and text?	Style of decorative initials	Ink colors (music/text)[91]	Other notes/later additions
1r–2r	I	Yes	1	Black/dark brown	N/a
2v	I	No	1	Reddish brown	N/a
3r–5r	II	No	1	Brown	N/a
5v–7r	II	Yes	1	Dark brown/brown	Preparatory short-hand titles in margins
7v–9r	II	Yes	1	Black	N/a
9v–12r	II	No	2	Dark brown	N/a
12v–16r	II–III	No	3	Light brown with red accents	N/a
16v–25v	III–IV	Yes	1 (none fols. 19v–25v)	Black/black and gray	Text hand writes in a gray ink on fol. 19r
26	IV	No	N/a	Faded black	Half folio insert in otherwise cohesive section (fols. 16v–29r)
26(bis)r–29r	IV	Yes	1 (none fols. 26[bis]r–27r)	Black	Addition at the bottom of fol. 27r in a later student hand

Table III.12. Scribal shifts in Perugia 431.[92]

91 The ink color for the music scribe is indicated first and the text scribe second (following the slash). If only one color is indicated, it is the same ink type for both music and text scribe.

92 This list of scribes is modified from the careful scribal analysis completed by Ciliberti in Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 25–26 and 59–63. His scribal analysis is valuable in that it carefully individuates different features of the various scribal shifts throughout the collection. I believe, however, that certain hands that he considers distinct are, in fact, a single scribe. This is the case with C, J, and I, as well as with H, H[alpha], and L. In each of these cases, I have retained the first label—C and H, respectively—in my reference to all.

Foliation (modern)	Fasc.	Shifts between music and text?	Style of decorative initials	Ink colors (music/text)	Other notes/later additions
29v	IV	No	1	Dark brown	N/a
30r	IV	No	N/a	Dark brown	"sancta maria ora pro-" written in another hand at the bottom of the page
30v	IV	No	1	Dark brown	Text addition in the bottom margin in the hand of Sozi (continued on fol. 31r)
31r	IV	No	N/a	Brown	Added theoretical text by Sozi
31v	IV	No	1	Dark brown	N/a
32r	IV	N/a	N/a	N/a	page left blank
32v–35v	IV	Yes	N/a	Dark brown	Several different text hands adding in voice-part indications and text incipits
36r	IV	No	N/a	Dark brown	Added theoretical text by Sozi
36v–51r	IV–V–VI	Yes	N/a	Brown	(1) Additions of theoretical text in bottom staves of fols. 39v–40r by Sozi; and bottom staves of fols. 41r–42v by a later student hand. (2) Different text hand for "Orsu cusi va" (fols. 42v–43r). (3) fol. 48r: later addition made in a lighter ink color
51v–54r	VI	No	1	Brown	Crossed out musical fragment in a different hand at the top of fol. 53v

Table III.12 (*continued*).

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Foliation (modern)	Fasc.	Shifts between music and text?	Style of decorative initials	Ink colors (music/text)	Other notes/later additions
54v–58r	VI	No	3	Alternates black and brown with red accents	Text and music ink colors always match even when shifting
58v–84r	VI–VII–VIII–IX	No	3, 4, and 5	Black with red, gold, and purple accents	(1) Incipits added to music in a different hand on fols. 61v–62r. (2) Text and music additions on fols. 78v–79r (diff. hand)
84v–88r	IX	Yes	1 and 3	Alternates black and brown with red accents	(1) Section clearly copied at at least two different times. (2) First decorative initial on fol. 84v was clearly a later addition meant to fit in with the rest of the section. (3) Clear shift in ink (and time of copying) on fols. 87v–88r (copyist same)
88v–92r	IX	Yes	1	Brown	(1) Text hand appears variable: e.g., fols. 91v–92r have a slightly different scribal style and the text hand changes. (2) No decorative initials on fols. 89v–90r (later addition?)
92v–94r	IX–X	Yes	1	Black/brown	N/a
94v–96r	X	No	1	Brown	N/a
96v–99r	X	No	1	Black	No decorative initials on fols. 98v–99r (later addition?)

Table III.12 (*continued*).

Foliation (modern)	Fasc.	Shifts between music and text?	Style of decorative initials	Ink colors (music/text)	Other notes/later additions
99v–103r	X	No	1 and 6	Dark brown	Decorative initials in style 6 appear to have been added before music and text, those in style 1 after
103v–104r	X	No	N/a	Dark brown	N/a
104v–107r	X–XI	No	1	Dark brown	Additions from another hand to the music on fols. 105v–106r
107v–114r	XI	No	1 and 3	Alternating black and gray with red and gold accents	(1) Section clearly copied at at least two different times. (2) Text additions in a different hand are present frequently after incipits. (3) There are additions of two voice parts to "Ayo stentato" (fols. 110v–111r). (4) Fols. 113v–114r only opening with decorative initial style 1, complete change in text hand
114v–116r	XI	No	1	Brown	Voice part additions (diff. hand) on fols. 115r and 116r
116v–117r	XI–XII	Yes	1	light (faded) brown	Music appears to have been copied by two different hands, or by one hand that changed pens midway
117v–120r	XII	No	1	Black	Crossed out fragment at the top of fol. 118v (same hand)

Table III.12 (*continued*).

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Foliation (modern)	Fasc.	Shifts between music and text?	Style of decorative initials	Ink colors (music/text)	Other notes/later additions
120v–121r	XII	No	N/a	Faded brown	N/a
121v–127r	XII	No	3	Black/brown with red and gold accents	N/a
127v–130r	XII–XIII	Yes	3 and 4	Black/brown	(1) Added music to the end of the first stave on fol. 128r. (2) Fols. 129v–130r, change in text hand (and ink color)
130v–133r	XIII	No	3	Gray with red accents	N/a
133v–134r	XIII	Yes	N/a	Black with red accents	Voice part addition the bottom margin of opening
134v–140r	XIII	No	3	Brown with red accents	N/a
140v–143v	XIII–XIV	No	1	Dark brown	N/a
143v–152v	XIV	Yes	1 and 2	Brown	Additions from Sozi in black ink (fols. 145v–146r)
153r	XV	N/a	N/a	N/a	page left blank
153v–156r	XV	Yes	N/a	Brown	Extensive additions from Sozi, black ink throughout
156v–157r	XV	No	N/a	Black	Theory treatise in one of the main text hands found throughout the manuscript

Table III.12 (*continued*).

Foliation (modern)	Fasc.	Shifts between music and text?	Style of decorative initials	Ink colors (music/text)	Other notes/later additions
157v–158r	XV	No	1	Dark brown	N/a
158v–160r	XV	No	1	Black	N/a
160v–161r	XV	Yes	N/a	Black	Continuation of the theory treatise from fols. 156v–157r; other additions in the bottom margins two different hands
161v–162r	XV	Yes	1	Black	Additions in the bottom margin from a different hand in brown ink
162v–163r	XV	Yes	1	Black	Additions in the bottom margin from a different hand in brown ink
163v	XV	Yes	N/a	Black and red	Liturgical calendar—addition to bottom margin from a different hand (gray ink)

Table III.12 (*continued*).

As shown in table III.12's fourth column, however, one complicating factor is found in the six different types of decorative initials present throughout, which vary in character from simple black calligraphic lettering (styles 1, 2, and 6) to black or dark brown letters with thinner pen-strokes and red accents (style 3) to illuminated initials in rich red, gold, and purple inks often accompanied by extended marginal decorations (styles 4 and 5).[93] In general, it appears that these initials were completed after the music and text were copied, but given the frequent changes in style and ink color, they were certainly not all completed at the same time. This implies that at least some sections (or even entire fascicles) of the manuscript were copied and decorated independently before being integrated into the large codex. The paleographic disposition of the collection, thus, implies a heterogeneous approach to copying despite its more cohesive codicological structure.

As indicated in the third column of table III.12, another significant factor in the copying of this manuscript is that the text hand does not always match the music hand for a given piece—thus constituting what I have called a scribal shift between music and text. Indeed, the text underlay is often written in a different hand from the music, and even on occasions when the music and text do match, another hand often intervenes to fill in lyrics left out by the original scribe (e.g., fols. 107v–114r in fascicle XI). Furthermore, throughout the manuscript, there appears to be one hand in particular (scribe C) who fills in texts in multiple languages, both sacred and secular, and is also responsible for an extended theoretical text spanning two separate manuscript openings toward the end of fascicle XV (on fols. 156v–157r and 160v–161r). This theoretical text, complete with two full pages of musical examples, provides a point of comparison (and continuity) with numerous other scribal interventions by the same hand in both text and music throughout the manuscript. By adding missing texts and transcribing new ones, this scribe acts in multiple roles as editor, copyist, and compiler.

Furthermore, as shown in tables III.11 and III.12, among the manuscript's original scribes, two in particular are responsible for copying large sections at the center of the collection: scribe E (especially, fols. 36v–51r) and scribe F (fols. 58v–84r). Scribe F appears to be the most formal and the most autonomous, copying in a dark gothic script over the course of several fascicles at the center of the collection. The musical texts copied by F are also adorned with what are, by far, the most ornate decorative illuminations of the collection (decorative initials in styles 4 and 5, primarily).[94] In contrast, scribe E copies his works in an informal, rounded hu-

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93 See appendix C for images of each style of decorative initial in this manuscript (labeled figures C.2 through C.7).

94 Ciliberti has identified this scribe (labeled in his article as "Grafia H") as the oldest of the codex, due to the professional and impressive aspect of his copies in the manuscript's central fascicles (in particular, VII and VIII); however, he does not provide any clear-cut evidence of this temporal precedence beyond this somewhat general impression. See Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza,"

manistic script in one large section from the end of fascicle IV through the beginning of fascicle VI, as well as in other smaller sections—sometimes comprising a single manuscript opening—in other places throughout the collection. The works copied by E are also the only musical texts in the collection's main corpus that are presented without any decorative initials or illuminations of any kind.[95] The large portions of the manuscript copied by scribes E and F, thus, appear to have been copied and, in the case of scribe F's work, decorated separately from the rest of the collection. And yet, from a paleographic standpoint, these large sections are tied into the rest of the collection by the overwhelming prevalence of additions and revisions by other scribes. What emerges, then, from this rather complex analysis is that numerous and frequent shifting scribal interventions present a wide-ranging and varied repertory in discreetly organized fascicles bound together in a small-form paper manuscript. The end result gives the impression of a *zibaldone* collectively compiled by a group of scribes who were undoubtedly working together.

Perugia 431 can, thus, be understood as miscellany collection with what seem to be contrasting elements. The book itself is constructed carefully in well-formed gatherings of relatively uniform material and size. Yet, the presence of at least six main scribes with several others making later additions creates an immediate sense of heterogeneity in the collection's visual impact, mirroring the variety of its contents. In describing the organization of Perugia 431's contents, Hernon proposes a broad five-part structure: (1) fascicles I through IV (fols. 1r–36v), Latin-texted pieces; (2) the first half of fascicle V (fols. 37v–42r), textless works; (3) the second half of fascicle V through the first half of fascicle X (fols. 42v–96r), mostly French and Italian works with some Spanish and Latin; (4) the second half of fascicle X through the first half of fascicle XII (fols. 96v–121r), almost exclusively Italian; and (5) the second half of fascicle XII through fascicle XV (fols. 121v–163v), mostly Latin-texted pieces.[96] In a similar vein, Ciliberti indicates a strict relationship between gathering structure and repertory-based divisions, and Di Bacco

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26. Although it is likely that the manuscript as a whole was copied over the course of some time (perhaps five to ten years) and that sections with different types of decorative initials were originally intended for different purposes, I do not believe it is possible to prove without a doubt that the sections copied by this scribe—which are not self-contained but rather spill over into fascicles VI, IX, XI, and XII—were copied and illuminated before all other portions of the manuscript. That being said, this scribe's copies do have revisions and additions to both music and text in other hands, so they almost certainly predated the last stages of the manuscript's compilation.

95 Ciliberti has identified this scribe (labeled as "Grafia G") as the most "modern" of the main scribes due largely to the humanistic style of his handwriting. See ibid. I believe it is quite likely that this scribe copied his portions later than the others, not because of the script, but because of the lack of any decorative initials in the works he copies. To me, this implies that these works were copied at a later stage in the manuscript's compilation when the decorative initials throughout the rest of the collection had already been completed.

96 Hernon, "Perugia MS 431," 55–60.

suggests that the manuscript's repertorial sections correspond to the layering of scribal hands.[97] To some degree, each of these approaches accurately depicts Perugia 431's repertorial trajectory, which moves from sacred works to a large and varied body of secular pieces to another group of sacred works; however, in prioritizing individual aspects of the manuscript's structure, they each neglect to account for the interplay among the collection's various codicological and paleographic features in the presentation of such a varied musical corpus.

Given the manuscript's overall disposition of paper types and scribal hands, I would first simplify the structure proposed by Hernon further to include three large-scale sections: sacred Latin-texted pieces (mostly mass settings and hymns) in fascicles I through IV; secular works (textless, French, Italian, Spanish) in fascicles V through XII; and sacred Latin-texted pieces (varied genres not related to the mass) in fascicles XII through XV. Then, I would reconsider the disposition of these sections based on the fascicle structure, paper types, and varied scribal shifts and interventions throughout. For instance, within the largest of these sections—preserving mostly secular works—one may identify groupings according to fascicle and scribal disposition.

Indeed, the manuscript's central gatherings preserve a secular repertory that is both heterogeneous and organized in terms of its overall presentation. Fascicle V, solely in the hand of scribe E, preserves a mix of textless and Italian-texted works several of which can be confidently attributed to polyphonic composers like Ycart and Isaac.[98] In contrast, fascicle VI presents more of a hodgepodge in that it was copied in four different scribal shifts (see table III.12), each of which accounts for works from several different traditions: fols. 49r–51r, one French-, one Italian-texted, and one textless work; fols. 51v–54r, two Italian-texted and one Latin sacred work; fols. 54v–58r, one Spanish-texted and one French-texted work; and fols. 58v–60v, one Latin sacred work and one French-texted work. Following this heterogeneous gathering, fascicles VII and VIII are copied entirely by scribe F and preserve a largely Franco-Flemish corpus with only a few Italian- and Spanish-texted works interspersed. In fascicle IX, there is a return to the frequently shifting scribal layers in at least three different hands, each copying a mix of genres with texts in Latin, Italian, and French. This collaborative approach to copying continues in fascicles X and XI, which preserve an almost exclusively Italian-texted corpus in numerous scribal hands: fascicle X presents mostly Italian-texted works, as well as one French-text, one textless, and one Latin-texted, copied over the course of six different shifts

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97 Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 26–27; Di Bacco, "PERUGIA," 550.

98 Within this fascicle "Orsu cusi va el mondo" has a full text written in by a different scribal hand, perhaps later than the overall copying of the gathering. Considering that this work is a unicum in Perugia 431, without this added text, it would also be considered one of the manuscript's textless works. This implies that perhaps other textless works in this section could have been texted as well, but simply never had their texts written in.

in copying (in at least four different hands); and, similarly, fascicle XI presents only works with Italian texts over four scribal shifts of at least four hands. With fascicle XII, the Italian-texted corpus is concluded in combination with a largely sacred repertory, once again copied by multiple scribes.

These seven fascicles at the center of the manuscript exemplify a process of copying and compilation that appears to have been inherently collaborative among the collection's main scribes. While certain scribes, like E and F, seem to have taken on the responsibility of copying entire fascicles, the majority of the manuscript's scribes copied their musical texts in a series of short sections alternating from one scribe to another with remarkable frequency. Scribe F, the most formal and imposing scribe, transcribes most of the collection's Franco-Flemish texts, but is also responsible for copying seventeen of the forty-eight Italian-texted works. The other five scribes copy the manuscript's varied contents in equal measure without clear sectional divisions within or among fascicles. Perugia 431's secular corpus is, thus, organized as a large-scale miscellany with individual concentrations of textless (in fascicle V), Franco-Flemish (in fascicles VII and VIII), and Italian-texted (in fascicles X and XI) works at different points throughout.

Italian-Texted Song in Perugia 431

Among the polyphonic music manuscripts of late-Quattrocento Italy, Perugia 431 preserves an Italian-texted repertory of unusual size and significance. Out of the collection's 134 musical works (forty-seven sacred and seventy-eight secular), forty-eight are Italian-texted, making up over a third of the overall collection.[99] This repertory is comprised of a variety of genres, the most common of which are, notably, the *strambotto* and the *barzelletta*: twenty-four *strambotti*,[100] twelve *barzellette*, four *canti carnascialeschi*, two *ballate*, two *canzonette*, one *oda*, one *bassa danza*, one *rondeau*, and one song of undetermined form. The preponderance of *strambotti* and *barzellette* in this corpus points to similar generic trends in the Neapolitan lyric tradition, which embraced those two genres, and *strambotto* in particular, as modes of creative expression.[101]

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99 As stated previously, this number (forty-eight) exceeds the number cited by Hernon in his study of the manuscript's Italian-texted works because it includes two pieces that are associated with an Italian text only in other concordant Neapolitan sources: "Lent et scolorito" (textless in Perugia 431) and "Non sia gyamay" ("Madame trop vos" in Perugia 431). My reasons for including these compositions in the corpus of Italian-texted works, despite their clear Franco-Flemish origins, are explained in note 27 earlier in this part.

100 One of these, "Sento li spiriti mei," might be a *strambotto*-form *lauda*.

101 For more on this, see the discussion of literary circles in part II and the analysis of Neapolitan literary manuscripts in part IV.

Like the repertory in Montecassino 871, many of Perugia's Italian-texted works show clear connections to Neapolitan lyric authors and manuscript sources. In fact, as shown in table III.13, eight works in this manuscript have concordances in specifically Neapolitan literary manuscripts, and one can be attributed directly to Galeota, "L'ucello mio chiamo."

C. no.	Incipit	Neapolitan Literary MS
33	Foll'è chi vole amare	Vaticano latino 10656 ("Ben foll'è chi vole amare")
37	In eternu voglio amare	Cappon. 193[102]
86	Se fosse certo che più non se amasse	Vaticano latino 10656
42	Io sento d'onne banda suspirare	Vaticano latino 10656
56	L'ucello mio chiamo jo perdo jornata	Modena α.M.7.32, Naples BNN XVII.1 (two copies of Galeota's *canzoniere*)
11	Amor tu non me gabasti	Paris 1035
68	O rosa bella	Paris 1035
89	Sera nel cor mio doglia e tormento	Riccardiana 2752, Vaticano latino 11255

Table III.13. Italian-texted works in Perugia 431 with Neapolitan literary concordances.

Among these, the three texts with concordances in the wholly anonymous Neapolitan lyric collection in Vaticano latino 10656 are particularly representative of the song tradition of late Quattrocento Naples: "[Ben] foll'è chi vole amare," "Se fosse certo che più non se amasse," and "Io sento d'onne banda suspirare." "[Ben] foll'è chi vole amare" is a five-stanza *barzelletta* treating the difficulties in loving a shepherdess rather than a gentlewoman. The full text, only a small portion of which is preserved in Perugia 431, is full of Neapolitanisms and crude metaphors, but nevertheless sticks to its typical courtly love theme. In contrast, "Se fosse certo che più non se amasse" and "Io sento d'onne banda suspirare" are both *strambotti siciliani* with remarkably similar *rima alternata* patterns: "-asse"/"-ia" and "-are"/"-ia," respectively. Similarly to "[Ben] foll'è chi vole amare," these two works also include Neapolitanisms and courtly love themes.[103]

Perugia 431 also preserves a significant number of other lyric texts, which lack concordances in literary collections, but nonetheless demonstrate a connection to the

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102 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capponiano 193. In addition to several Neapolitan lyric texts, this manuscript also preserves an early redaction of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.

103 These particular texts and their presence in both Neapolitan literary and musical manuscript sources from the period will be discussed in more depth in the brief discussion of Vaticano latino 10656 in part IV.

Neapolitan tradition in their genres, subject matter, and overall style. Texts like "Quisto aflicto corpu miyo ch'è stancho," for instance, bear typical elements of the Neapolitan tradition in its linguistic features—for example, "quisto" v. "questo" in verse 1 or "un pocu" v. "un poco" in verse 2—as well as in the *strambotto*-like form and typical theme of unrequited love.[104] Meanwhile, the textually incomplete "In tormento sempre vivo" reveals itself to be a *barzelletta* both in its eight-syllable incipit and two-part musical structure (refrain and stanza). Together with the common poetic theme of living in torment (almost certainly due to unrequited love) and the attribution to Aedvardus Ortonensis (likely a musician connected to Santa Maria delle Grazie in Ortona), this would once again allow for a probable connection to the literary circles active within the Kingdom of Naples.[105]

Yet, this manuscript's Italian-texted repertory should be defined not only by the clearly Neapolitan texts like those attributed to figures like Galeota, but also by works that have connections to more broadly influential trends throughout the Italian peninsula. Indeed, as both Atlas and Hernon have noted, four of the Italian-texted works in this collection have been attributed to the renowned poet-improviser and *strambottista* Serafino Aquilano in other non-musical sources:[106] "Morte che fai che non pigli sta spoglia," "Ai lasio ad quanti feri la sete toglio," "Non te fidare se a te ciascun se arende," and "Sufferir so' disposto omne tormento." Of these, three are from sources with dubious attributions—Vaticano latino 5170 and Vaticano latino 5159—while only one, "Ai lasio ad quanti feri," can be attributed to Serafino with certainty due to its consistent presence in the most authoritative sources of the poet-improviser's works.[107] The presence of texts with these attributions in contemporary literary sources, dubious or not, demonstrates a connection to Serafino's style of song both in Naples—since, as I discussed in

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104 The full text of the poem is: "Quisto aflicto corpu miyo che stancho / voria oramay un pocu repusare / Se non questo uiso che russcio et bianco / La forza manca et lu fiato e mancato / Per una donna so distratiato." Since this text has no concordances, we can only evaluate it on the basis of its five-line structure in Perugia 431, which is made up of five endecasillabi with the rhyme scheme ABACC. This would appear to be a truncated or incomplete version of a *strambotto toscano* with a *rima baciata* as the final couplet, but in this form it is obviously incomplete. For more on the flexibility of the *strambotto* genre, see my discussion in part V.

105 Ciliberti and Cattin both point to the connection between composers like Aedvardus Ortonensis and Fr. M. de Ortona and a potential setting in the Franciscan monastery Santa Maria delle Grazie—also the likely point of origin of the manuscript itself (Ciliberti, "Struttura e provenienza," 28–29 and 45; Cattin, "Il repertorio polifonico sacro," 30, n. 36). Another important point of connection is that Ortona falls within the territory of the Count of Popoli, Giovanni Cantelmo, who as well shall see in part IV, was an active literary enthusiast and facilitator of poetic retreats among the Kingdom's aristocracy.

106 Hernon, "Perugia MS 431," 123; Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 57–58.

107 Regarding the numerous dubious attributions to Serafino in late fifteenth-century literary manuscripts and early sixteenth-century prints, see La Face Bianconi and Rossi, "'Soffrir non son disposto ogni tormento.'" See also La Face Bianconi and Rossi, "Serafino Aquilano nelle fonti musicali"; La Face Bianconi and Rossi, "Sulla diffusione del repertorio strambottistico," 129–35.

part II, Serafino spent time in the Kingdom of Naples on two separate occasions in the late 1470s and early 1490s—and throughout the Italian peninsula, where the poet-improviser enjoyed considerable fame both during his life and in the years following his premature death.[108] Having reached Perugia under the ownership of Raffaello Sozi by the 1550s, Perugia 431 is a manuscript of decidedly Neapolitan provenance, but it also had a later life in central Italy. By preserving a group of songs associated with a figure of peninsula-wide renown, who also happened to have spent some of his formative years in southern Italy, this collection embodies the push and pull between local and cosmopolitan culture that pervaded Neapolitan culture in the 1480s and 1490s.

In contrast with the Italian-texted works in Montecassino 871, those in Perugia 431 are typically presented with much more care, appearing as a fundamental component of the musical corpus that rivals the collection's entire repertory of sacred works. In fact, within the manuscript's central fascicles (those dedicated to preserving secular works), these Italian-texted pieces appear either interspersed with other repertories in smaller numbers (as in fascicles V, VI, VII, VIII, and IX, and XII) or in larger-scale, concentrated groupings (as in fascicles X and XI). The placement and *mise en page* of these works within the manuscript's overall structure demonstrates a marked difference in this repertory's connection to the written medium from the approach taken in Montecassino 871.

The forty-eight Italian texted works in Perugia 431 appear in all eight of the manuscript's central secular-music gatherings (see table III.14 for their specific distribution).[109] Both in the more varied fascicles (V–VIII, and XII) and in the more cohesive ones (X and XI), the manuscript's compilers gave these Italian-texted works a prominent place within the collection. As listed in table B.2 in appendix B, thirty-seven of these forty-eight works are copied in a spacious choirbook format across a full manuscript opening, while only eleven are presented in compact choirbook layout with all the voice parts stacked vertically on one manuscript page. Given the octavo manuscript's modest size with only six short staves per page, the use of compact choirbook format would only be possible for works comprising the most limited musical material, and, indeed, all eleven works copied in that format are simple *strambotto* settings—nearly all of which are set for only three voices.[110]

108　Serafino was famously influenced by the *strambotto* style of Neapolitan poet-improviser Benedetto Gareth (*detto* il Cariteo) from the time that he heard the Neapolitan nobleman (and singer) Andrea Coscia perform some of Cariteo's *strambotti* to the accompaniment of the lute in Milan. See Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 63. For more on Serafino's role in Neapolitan musico-poetic activities and works, see my discussions in parts II and V.

109　See table B.2 in appendix B for a full listing of the Italian-texted works in this manuscript.

110　There are two *strambotti* in compact choirbook format that are for four voices: "Sento li spiriti mei," further lending credence to the likelihood that this is a *lauda*; and "Aio stentato," in which only two voices were copied by the original hand (F) while the other two added later by scribe X.

Fasc.	No. of Italian-texted works	Genres
V	5	1 *oda*, 2 *barzellette*, 2 *strambotti*
VI	4	3 *strambotti*, 1 *canto carnascialesco*
VII	4	2 *barzellette*, 1 *rondeau* (Italian text in Montecassino 871), 1 undetermined (Italian text in Bologna Q 16)
VIII	3	1 *barzelletta*, 2 *ballate*
IX	4	2 *canzonette*, 2 *barzellette*
X	8	1 *bassa danza*, 4 *barzellette*, 3 *strambotti*
XI	17	3 *canti carnascialeschi*, 13 *strambotti*, 1 *barzelletta*
XII	3	3 *strambotti* (one of which might be a *lauda*)

Table III.14. Distribution of Italian-texted works in Perugia 431.

Yet, even in the few cases where songs are rendered in compact choirbook format, their layout and visual impact on the page is usually much more formal than what appears in Montecassino 871. In an apt point of comparison, both manuscripts—Perugia 431 and Montecassino 871—preserve copies of "Serà nel cor mio" and "Corrino multi cani" as a pair, laid out in compact choirbook on facing pages of a single manuscript opening. The visual juxtaposition of this particular pair of *strambotti* in both manuscripts may point to a similar source or exemplar of some kind—although it is worth noting that, for both songs, Perugia transmits a three-voice version while Montecassino includes a fourth Contraltus part. In spite of these similarities, however, the two could not be more different in their visual impact (see figures III.12 and III.13).

As shown in figure III.13, at the heart of Perugia 431's exclusively Italian fascicle XI, scribe F copies all three voices of each *strambotto* in a careful, semi-gothic hand with beautifully decorated capital initials. He also uses the additional empty space in the staves and margins to fill in the text that is not underlaid with the music. In contrast, the informal scribal style, lack of full texts, and spartan capital initials in Montecassino 871 (in figure III.12) present these two songs in as austere a manner as possible on two separate folio fragments (comprising two different paper types) that belong to the manuscript's irreparably damaged final fascicle IX. The differences in visual impact between these two contrasting copies of what would otherwise be an identical *strambotto* pairing demonstrate the shifting negotiations taking place in the limited written transmission of Neapolitan song in this period.

The fact that both of these manuscripts preserved these two songs together in this particular way is undeniably noteworthy. One explanation, suggested by Atlas, is
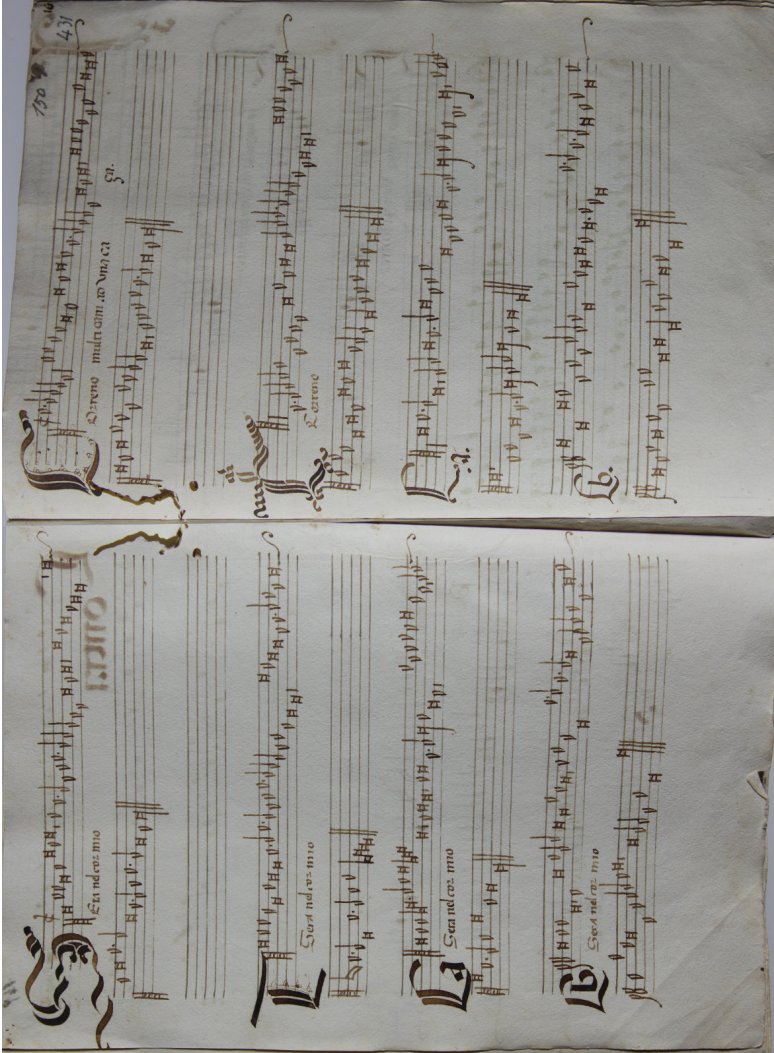
Figure III.12. Montecassino 871, pp. 430–31.

Figure III.13. Perugia 431, fols. 107v–108r.

that the scribes could be working from a common parent source, possibly an "un-bound 'fascicle manuscript'";[111] however, the difference in the number of voices (resulting in significant musical variants in both songs) and poetic texts makes it unlikely that both versions were copied from the same exemplar. Indeed, the two songs in Perugia 431 are not only set for three voices rather than four, as in Montecassino 871;[112] the Contrabassus part in Montecassino also has a completely different opening from that in Perugia—likely adjusted to accommodate the added Contraltus—and Montecassino has two instances of scribal error (one in the tenor and one in the Contrabassus) that are not present in Perugia.[113] But what other explanation can there be for the unambiguously similar layout and placement between the two sources? Here, I believe, we must consider the possibility that the manuscript pairing of these two songs could have more to do with conventions in performance practice than with physical proximity in a written copy or exemplar. In other words, these two songs could have been paired in oral performance, making them more likely to be remembered as a pair in written transmission.[114]

Returning to the full corpus of Italian-texted works in Perugia 431, not all were copied by scribe F in such a formal and ornate style. To be sure, scribe F seems to be responsible for copying at least seventeen of the manuscript's forty-eight Italian-texted works in this way—the largest number of any scribe. But each of the manuscript's other main scribes appears to have copied some portion of the Italian-texted repertory as well, as demonstrated by the frequent shifts in scribal intervention throughout the manuscript's central fascicles (see table III.12). Among these various copies, the Italian-texted repertory appears in a variety of different guises, from the most formal (and most prevalent) semi-gothic-style texts transcribed by scribe F to the more informal humanistic-style transcriptions of scribe E. Yet, despite differences in scribal style, the majority of these works do appear in a fairly uniform way: in large part, they are copied in choirbook format with decorative

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111   Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 51.

112   On the practical rules for composing or improvising a fourth *si placet* voice in late-fifteenth-century polyphony see Gilbert, "Eight Brief Rules for Composing."

113   In the tenor of Montecassino 871, the scribe has written a dotted minim halfway through the first stave, which should be a dotted semibreve (as in Perugia 431) in order to fill out the measure and match the parallel rhythm in the cantus. In the contrabassus of Montecassino 871, the scribe omits two notes (D breve followed by A semibreve) in the *strambotto*'s second musical phrase without which the musical line is incomplete. These two notes are present in the correct reading in Perugia 431 about halfway through the second stave of music in the contra part. Strangely, Atlas claims that the tenor part in Montecassino 871's version of "Corrino molti cani" is "completely different from that in Per 431," but aside from the scribal error noted above, I have found no differences between the two parts. See Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 50, n. 26.

114   For more on "Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento," in particular, see the second of my two case studies at the end of part V. Similar song pairings that seem to reflect a remembered pairing in performance include the two *strambotto* settings with the "Quanto mi dolse" incipit in Montecassino 871 and paired placement of "Ayo te postu" and "Ayo stentato" in Perugia 431.

capital initials, consistent voice-part indications, and full texts both underlaid with the music and written into the empty staves and margins on the page. At times, the text is left incomplete and filled in later by another hand—as in the case of "Corrino multi cani" in figure III.13, wherein the text copied by scribe F is completed by scribe C in the bottom margin of folio 108r.[115] In other cases, the text is clearly copied by one scribe in as complete a version as possible—even going so far as to include marginal indications to delineate stanzaic divisions, as in the residual stanzas of "Nui siamo qui per buractar" written into the empty staves at the bottom of folio 105r. As is evident in figure III.14, scribe C brackets off each stanza of text followed by a memorial cue to return to the refrain text: "Nui etc." Nonetheless, even with this detailed treatment of the text by a single scribe, one of those cues following the second stanza of residual text is left out only to be filled in later by another hand. While this small addition may seem insignificant at first, I interpret it as yet another example of the collaborative approach taken throughout the copying and compilation of this manuscript among what seems to be a close-knit network of scribes.

Furthermore, in contrast to the relative uniformity of layout and textual completeness in Perugia 431's Italian-texted repertory, one song was copied in a particularly informal way. Among the largely sacred repertoire of fascicle XII, a short, four-voice *strambotto*-like musical text is copied in compact choirbook format across the bottom staves of the manuscript opening on folios 120v to 121r: "Sento li spiriti mei" (see figure III.15). part of the structurally homogeneous but scribally diverse fascicle XII, "Sento li spiriti mei" was copied together with "O lux immensa" in an isolated scribal intervention by hand E. These two works, laid out in compact choirbook format on a single manuscript opening between the work of two other scribes, were likely copied as a later addition to this fascicle. The ink color of both works is a faded brown, but that of "Sento li spiriti mei" is slightly darker. In addition, due to the empty stave left between the altus and bassus parts of "O lux immensa," it was necessary to add a seventh stave to accommodate the altus part of "Sento li spiriti mei" in the bottom margin of folio 121r. Squeezed at the bottom of the page in this haphazard way, it appears that "Sento li spiriti mei" was added even later than its Latin-texted counterpart, an afterthought to an afterthought within the context of the fascicle. This song's material treatment represents the opposite extreme from the carefully transcribed *strambotti*, like "Serà nel cor mio" and "Corrino multi cani," copied by scribe F. In this way, it aids us in developing a fuller picture of the collection's multifaceted compilation process.

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115   Another significant instance in which this occurs is "Vegio che la fortuna me contrasta" (fol. 109v), where scribe F has underlaid two lines of the *strambotto* with the Cantus part and left out of the rest of the text, which is then filled in the margins and empty space in the staves by scribe C.

Figure III.14. Perugia 431, fol. 105r.
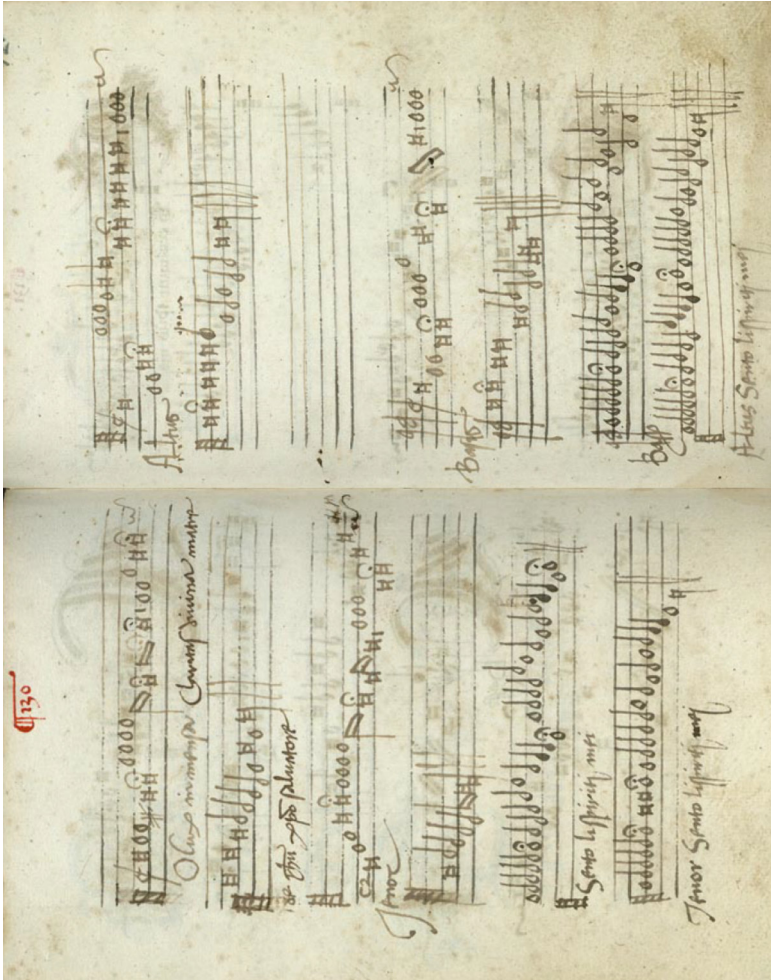
Figure III.15. Perugia 431, fols. 120v–121r.

Additions or corrections to Perugia 431's Italian-texted works are not limited only to the completion of missing lyric texts, however. In fact, the manuscript's complex layers of copying extend to smaller additions to and editing of several of the musical texts themselves. These instances of inter-scribal editing include: added voice parts (sometimes supplanting the original ones),[116] erasures and corrections to musical lines, and added sections to be appended to the pre-existing music. The additions and corrections to Perugia 431's Italian-texted works are listed in table III.15 below. Most of these additions and corrections are in the hand of scribe X—also the scribe responsible for the half-folium insert (fol. 26) in fascicle IV. But, as table III.15 shows, several other scribes were involved in this process as well. Moreover, while these additions were clearly made subsequently to each song's original transcription (except in the case of "Sufferir so' disposto"), they could not have been executed long after the initial copying took place. Indeed, even in the case of scribe X who makes later additions throughout the manuscript, we can say with some certainty that those additions were likely made before the full manuscript was bound together (sometime in the mid-1480s) due to the seamless insertion of the half-folium in fascicle IV. And, since two of the manuscript's main music scribes (C and E) were responsible for those additions not made by scribe X, those too can be dated shortly after the original copying was completed.

Ultimately, these scribal interventions give us some understanding of the somewhat uncertain status that these songs still had within the written medium. As they underwent an ongoing process of editing and recomposition, their fixity as musical texts was undermined. In "Ben finirò questa misera vita," for example, erasures and corrections to the music are made throughout the *prima* and *secunda partes*, but the most significant changes are made in the *secunda pars* ("Oyme che stento"). Therein, not only is the equivalent of a full stave of the Contra part completely erased and replaced with new music, but, even more strangely, the two final notes of the Cantus part are erased from the beginning of the fourth staff and written (with identical pitches and note values) into the margin at the end of the third instead, as illustrated in figure III.16.

This change to the Cantus is hard to explain without considering the specific needs that arise in musical performance. While the original scribe took great care to space the notes out evenly, leaving ample room for the ornamented embellishment of the

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116   This happens in a few cases, where the final result is that there are five voices present for a single song, but only four can really be used at any given time—for example: "Io non so' surdo" and "Una vecchia rencagnata."

117   Scribal additions of this kind were occasionally made to other genres and styles within the manuscript, as well. For example, scribe A added a fourth contraltus voice to "Le sovinir" (fols. 78v–79r), which was originally copied by scribe F, and the text for this chanson is also filled in by multiple hands. Nonetheless, this kind of scribal addition is far more common in Italian-texted works throughout the manuscript.

Folios	Song incipit	Type of addition	Orig. scribe	Add. scribe
80v–81r	"Ben finirò questa misera vita" (*2da pars*: "Oyme che stento")	Erasure of a large portion of music in the Contra of the *2da pars* (and two notes in the Cantus) with new music rewritten in its place	F	X
105v–106r	"Vederà l'occhi mei la sepultura"	Addition of a coda appended to three of the *strambotto*'s four voices (C, T, Cb)	C	E
110v–111r	"Ayo stentato ancora più de uno anno"	Addition of two voices—labeled "Contra" and "Triplum"—to what was originally a two-voice (Cantus-Tenor) musical structure	F	X
115r	"Io non so' surdo ne ceco in tuctu"	Addition of two voices—labeled "Bassus" and "Contra"—to what was originally a three-voice (C, T, Ct) musical structure	C	X
116r	"Una vecchia rencagnata"	Addition of two voices—labeled "Triplum" and "Bassus"—to what was originally a three-voice (C, T, Ct) musical structure	C	X
116v–117r	"Sufferir so' disposto omne tormento"	Two different hands collaborating in copying the entire song	B?	C?

Table III.15. Significant scribal additions to the Italian-texted works in Perugia 431.[117]
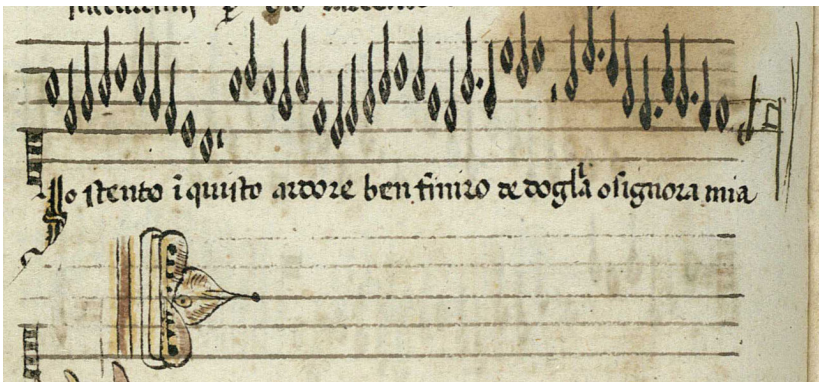
Figure III.16. End of the Cantus voice in the *2da pars* of "Ben finirò questa misera vita."

final double bar line, a performer reading from this musical text would likely prefer the more practical solution of reading all the notes linearly from the same staff. Thus, we see in this instance (as well as in others) the manuscript's dual character, which frequently juxtaposes efforts toward careful preservation of the musical texts with the functions of practical use in performance or musical study.

The addition of new voice parts in songs like "Io non so' surdo" and "Una vecchia rencagnata" speaks to a similar dichotomy, which seems to negotiate between reflecting a performance practice in which the number of voices for a given song can be fluid and preserving the most complete and accurate version of the work in question. In fact, when one transcribes all five voices for each of these works (the three original ones, and the two that were added) in modern score notation, it becomes immediately clear that in order for the two added ones to work contrapuntally with the Cantus and Tenor parts, the original Contra part must be dropped—ultimately leaving only four workable voice parts.

A similar phenomenon in "Ayo stentato ancora più de uno anno" is particularly telling in that the original text includes only two voices. As such, this is a unique example—among all four Neapolitan music manuscripts of the period—of a song that at one point circulated as a simple Cantus-Tenor duo before the inevitable addition of the two Contra parts (see figure III.17). The later additions of the "Cont[ra]" and "Triplum" to "Ayo stentato" illustrate visually what we often imagine to be a process of polyphonic expansion in the oral tradition: from a duet—performed by either a singer accompanying himself or by a pair of performers singing (or singing and playing) in "discanto"—to a full four-voice chordal texture in which the two contra parts provide the harmonic underpinning for the original melodic pair.[118] As I will discuss in part V, a large portion of the *strambotto* settings follow this kind of textural scheme, which gradually becomes fixed through its transmission in a combination of oral performance and written preservation.

Another aspect of *strambotto* performance practice, rarely written down in this period, seems to emerge in the additions made to "Vederà l'occhi mei la sepultura" (see figure III.18). Here, we see that, in addition to making some substantial erasures and revisions to the end of the Contraltus, another hand (likely scribe E) has added a short musical coda to the Cantus, Tenor, and Contrabassus parts. The additions made to these three voices are particularly striking as possible evidence of a practice specific to the performance of this *strambotto*. When heard subsequently to the original *strambotto* setting, it becomes clear that this added material, which ends on F rather than the mode final D, is not a conclusion or coda at all.

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118   On the performance possibilities for a two-voice duo, see in particular both the discussions of the performance styles depicted in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* in part II and of the anonymous commentary to "Io te canto in discanto" in the Introduction to this book.

Figure III.17. Added Voices to "Ayo stentato" (Perugia 431, fols. 110v–111r).

Figure III.18. "Vederà l'occhi mei la sepultura" in Perugia 431, fols. 105v–106r.

Music	X	Y	X	Y	X	Y	X
Text	a | b	–	a | b	–	a | b	–	a | b

Figure III.19. Musico-poetic structure of "Vederà l'occhi mei la sepultura"
with added *ritornello* (X = main verse setting; Y = *ritornello*).

Rather, as outlined in III.19, it is a musical interlude or *ritornello* that breaks up
the repeated iterations of the music setting the *strambotto*'s four hendecasyllabic
verse-pairs.

The fact that this interlude sets only three voices, as opposed to the full four, and
has no text underlay, provides another clue that this particular section would have
been played instrumentally, as a contrast to the vocal performance of the main verse
section. Beginning with repeated semibreves on the reciting tone A and concluding
with a cadence on F (which is also the cadential pitch for the end of the first half of
the main verse section), the *ritornello* draws upon central elements in the verse sec-
tion that the singer would have just finished performing. We could imagine that the
song as a whole would have been performed by a solo singer with three-part instru-
mental accompaniment (either accompanying themself on a chordal instrument or
accompanied by one or more instrumentalists), and that between each set of paired
verses, the underlying chordal accompaniment is given a more prominent melodic
role in the execution (most likely improvised) of this homophonic instrumental
interlude.

Among all music sources connected to late-Quattrocento Naples, this the only
instance in which an instrumental interlude of this kind appears in a *strambotto*
setting, and it is striking that it only exists due to a scribal addition to the origi-
nal copied text. The addition here represents an element of performance practice
that, while rarely written into manuscript copies, was likely an integral part of the
song's overall form. In fact, interludes of this type were probably improvised with
some frequency in the course of performance, and what better way to improvise
a *ritornello* than by drawing upon the main verse section just heard? The layers of
scribal collaboration and intervention in "Vederà l'occhi mei" and in Perugia 431
more generally, thus, emerge as an essential tool in understanding the life of these
works beyond the written page. Indeed, at the same time that this manuscript pro-
vides the Italian-texted works with a high level of material value within the col-
lection as a whole, these later additions—occurring with the greatest frequency in
the Italian-texted repertory—demonstrate the fluidity of the works themselves in
some of their most basic features, as well as the effort made to correct the record as
new elements come to light beyond the confines of the original manuscript copy.

The Italian-texted works in Perugia 431, thus, reflect the conflicting elements of
their compositional fluidity with what can be seen as clear efforts toward textual fix-

ity in the Neapolitan lyric tradition. The act of copying these songs—at one point known only through oral transmission—changes them into fixed texts, to which the scribe-compilers of this manuscript seem to grant a special place of prominence. Yet, these copies reflect just one version of what the songs themselves could have been in their performed reality, as becomes evident in the various corrections and additions made collaboratively throughout the manuscript's Italian-texted repertory. Following the initial act of transcription by the scribes, these changes provide evidence of continued creative activity in the living performance of this repertory. Without the final goal of fixing each piece in perpetuity, they are like layers in a working draft. In short, what this manuscript reveals is that the written texts do not themselves represent definitive versions, but rather possible renderings of a body of songs that had much greater compositional variety in oral practice.

Seville-Paris

Introduction

In contrast to the previous two collections, Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS 5-I-43 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. franç. 4379 (hereafter Seville-Paris) is a cosmopolitan, French-style chansonnier preserving almost exclusively secular works, among which is found a considerable corpus of Italian-texted song. This manuscript, originally and for the majority of its history in one piece at the Biblioteca Colombina, was cut apart and bound in two separate codices held in Seville and Paris respectively in the late nineteenth century. The main manuscript is still held in Seville, while the fragmentary portion in Paris is bound as the first forty-two folios of a larger compilation of French chansons from several disparate fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts.[119] The earliest musicological study of this manuscript by Higìnio Angles considers only the main manuscript in Seville, failing to recognize the Paris fragment as part of the original collection.[120] It was not until the early 1950s that the two portions of the manuscript were finally taken together as a single object of study in Dragan Plamenac's in-depth reconstruction published in three parts from 1951 to 1952.[121]

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119 The manuscript as a whole is a compilation of fragments. It consists of a total of ninety-two folios and is found in the nouvelle acquisitions françaises portion of the Bibliothèque nationale's fonds français, as it was clearly a later addition to the library's collections. For an alphabetical index of its full contents, see Delisle, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, 127–30.

120 Anglés's article, "El 'Chansonnier français' de la Colombina de Sevilla," was originally published in 1929 in volume 14 of *Estudis universitas catalans*. I have consulted the 1976 reprint: Anglés, "El 'Chansonnier français'."

121 See Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I"; Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—II"; Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—III." Other scholarship on this manuscript includes: Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier Microform"; Kreitner, *The Church Music*.

Unlike Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431, which have been relatively uncontested in their connection to Naples, Seville-Paris's provenance is more dubious. As Atlas has pointed out, the collection clearly demonstrates a Neapolitan origin or influence in a substantial portion of its contents and demonstrates significant agreement in its concordances with other Neapolitan manuscripts, such as Escorial B, Montecassino 871, and Bologna Q 16; however, he does not rule out a possible Roman origin given its acquisition by Fernando Colón in Rome in 1515.[122] In contrast, Stanley Boorman finds the question of provenance to be more complex in his investigation of the manuscript's scribal practice. Identifying three distinct scribes each with a different set of sources and influences,[123] Boorman ultimately concludes that scribe 1 seems to have been working from sources of Florentine, rather than Neapolitan, origin and that the two scribes (2 and 3) that do demonstrate a Neapolitan influence in their work may simply exemplify the Neapolitan influence in Florence, rather than the other way around.[124] My analysis below expands upon and refines Boorman's perspective in presenting information on the manuscript's paper types, fascicle structure, scribal practice, and repertorial treatment. As both Atlas and Boorman (as well as others) have admitted, it is ultimately impossible to know with certainty if the manuscript was compiled in Florence with a strong Neapolitan influence, in Naples with a strong Florentine influence, or some combination of the two. Regardless of whether this manuscript was produced in Naples or Florence, the collection nonetheless preserves numerous works of Neapolitan origin or influence and, therefore, maintains its relevance to this study as a testament to that tradition.

Of the 167 musical works in Seville-Paris, twenty-four are settings of Italian texts: nine *strambotti*, one *barzelletta*, one *villanesca napoletana*,[125] one *ballata*, five polyphonic tenor melody settings, and five songs of undetermined genre.[126] Already from this brief overview, a contrasting set of priorities emerges in the types of songs preserved compared with those in Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431. In fact, beyond the more typical *strambotto* settings (which are almost all preserved in the same fascicle), many of these works (the tenor melody settings in particular)

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122 Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, 1:257. See also the discussion of this source in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 122–23.

123 Plamenac was the first to identify three main scribes in his study of the manuscript, whereas Anglés originally identified eight. See Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 513–14; Anglés, "El 'Chansonnier français'," 1359–61. The different scribal hands of the manuscript will be discussed in more detail below.

124 Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions," 336–39.

125 The *villanesca napoletana* has been defined in Donna Cardamone's foundational study on the subject as an eight-verse *strambotto* expanded by a refrain of popular or nonsensical lyrics following each couplet. For a general discussion of the form followed by an analysis of the *villanesca* in Seville-Paris ("Cavalca Sinisbaldo"), see Cardamone, *The* Canzone villanesca, 1:38–49.

126 See table B.3 in appendix B.

demonstrate a propensity for the reuse or reworking of popular tunes, which may be connected to the dance tradition. This type of engagement with what were likely orally transmitted melodies within the written tradition of polyphonic composition shows a new type of interface between oral and written practices in Neapolitan song compared with the memorial records found in the two manuscripts previously discussed.[127] As I will show, the Italian-texted works in Seville-Paris reveal a different facet of oral-literate exchange in Neapolitan music and poetry. Rather than simply recording orally composed songs in writing, many of these works engage with the musical material of the oral tradition in a deeper way, reassigning it to the role of *cantus firmus* or melodic counterpoint within a decidedly literate polyphonic setting.

Physical Description

According to Colón's description of his purchase in September 1515, in its original intact form, what we are now calling Seville-Paris was a small-form paper manuscript made up of a total of 188 folios, 164 of which were marked with Arabic numerals evidently intended to enumerate the pieces preserved rather than the folios themselves.[128] By 1684, a short description in the Loaysa catalogue indicates that the manuscript contained 181 folios,[129] having apparently lost seven folios of the original 188 present at the time of Colón's purchase over a century and a half earlier.[130] This number—181 folios—was reaffirmed in Riaño's 1887 description of the codex as "consist[ing] of 181 leaves, badly foliated."[131] Yet, by 1884, forty-two of the surviving 181 folios had been cut out of the original Colombina manuscript and rebound into a collection of miscellaneous chansonnier fragments, which was added to the Bibliothèque nationale's collection in 1885 under the manuscript

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127 On this interface between oral and written practices, see my discussion in part I.

128 See Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 505, n. 10, which quotes Colón's description directly from his *Regestrum*: "Liber manu scriptus et est Cancionero de canto dorgano que contiene diversas Canciones apuntadas y es viejo y mutilado y parece ser bueno costo en Roma .62. Quatrines por Setiembre de .1515. Es en .4. Y terna en todo .164. Hojas. Littera .I. Señor Le tasmet .D. Se je me plains jai bien raison Inprincipo est tabula Carminum. Item sunt nonnulle figure musices." Plamenac is quick to note the discrepancy in Colón's description, which lists 164 folios rather than 188, but the alphabetical signature foliation system—which Plamenac credits to Colón himself—points to the larger page range of 188 folios and the older Arabic pagination system lists reaches only 164 (as Colón notes in his description). See ibid., 511–12.

129 This description was reproduced in Riaño, *Critical and Bibliographical Notes*, which was later quoted in full in Plamenac's study of the manuscript; see Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 503.

130 Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 512.

131 Riaño, *Critical and Bibliographical Notes*, 66. This description seems to be a reproduction of the Loaysa catalogue description, and thus should not actually reflect the manuscript's state in 1887 (since by this year, it would have been cut into two pieces, one of which was in Paris).

siglum: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. franç. 4379 (hereafter Paris 4379).[132]

In its current form, then, the Seville-Paris chansonnier exists in two separate pieces. The main portion held at the Biblioteca Colombina consists of 139 paper folios measuring 15.5 × 21.5 cm[133] with a white calfskin binding,[134] while the fragmentary portion in Paris comprises the first forty-two paper folios bound in Paris 4379 measuring approximately 15.0 × 21.0 cm.[135] The paper in both portions was prepared with music staves drawn by a rastrum in one of two styles: (1) the most common includes seven five-line staves, measuring about 10.5 to 11 cm across the page with 2.5 cm margins; and (2) the more sporadically used approach has six five-line staves per page, measuring about 11.5 cm across the page with smaller side margins (only 2 cm) and a very large bottom margin (on average about 4.5 cm), which often seems to accommodate residual text not underlaid with the music.

As mentioned above, the manuscript was marked by several different numbering systems over time. The earliest of these is the one originally mentioned in Colón's *Regestrum*, numbered 1 through 164 in Arabic numerals.[136] Rather than providing the manuscript's foliation, however, this system appears to number each of the collection's musical works, starting with "Le tasinet" on fol. *Sev*10 (b1) and ending with "Paix et ioie vous envoie dieulx" on fols. *Sev*137v–138r (r7v–r8r). Alongside this enumeration of musical works, an old Roman numeral foliation is visible on some folios at the center of the manuscript (numbered LXXXVII to CLXXXIII), most of which appears to have been cut off or lost early on. Once the manuscript came into Colón's possession starting in 1515, the alphabetical signature foliation was completed as a way of accurately foliating the full manuscript. This includes not just musical works, but also the truncated index and musical treatise at the beginning. To this day, this alphabetical foliation—consisting of six signatures with ten leaves each (a, b, c, d, p, and q), ten with twelve leaves each (e, f, g, h, j, k, l,

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132 For a summary of this complicated history, see Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 505–8. These cuts, then, account for the number of folios (139) identified in Anglés's original study of the Colombina chansonnier, which preserves exactly forty-two fewer leaves than the number identified in the 1684 description and reaffirmed in 1887 by Riaño.

133 This measurement does not include the binding. With the binding the manuscript measures 22.1 × 16.2 cm.

134 This binding appears to be original to the manuscript. According to the librarians at the Biblioteca Colombina, it was restored in 1996 by Barbachano & Beny. The spine of the binding includes a cross drawn at the top along with the words "CANTO DE Organo MS Latino" and a five-petaled flower drawn at the bottom.

135 Based on my study of the manuscript, it appears as though the margins in this fragmentary portion were cut down to fit with the other manuscript fragments in the rest of that codex. One major consequence of this is that the authorial attributions that sometimes appear in the top margins in the Seville portion have been cut off and rendered unreadable in Paris 4379.

136 For a facsimile copy of this portion of Colón's *Regestrum*, see Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," plate VIII (unnumbered page found between pages 512 and 513).

m, n, and o), and one with eight (r)—is still the most coherent numbering system available for the manuscript as a whole (including both Seville and Paris portions).[137] Following the separation of the Paris fragment from the main manuscript in Seville, however, two new foliation systems—both in Arabic numerals at the top right corner of each folio's recto side—were created to account for the current structure of each portion, numbered 1 through 42 and 1 through 139 respectively.

The paper itself includes five different surviving watermarks interspersed with varying levels of frequency, and often corresponding with individual gatherings, throughout the manuscript.[138] These watermarks are identified in table III.16. Likely of Florentine origin, the hat watermark (A) is by far the most prominent in the collection, appearing as the sole paper type in eleven of the manuscript's nineteen fascicles. The next most common is the encircled crossbow (D), which appears in four fascicles and is the sole paper type in only two (XI and XIII).[139] Nonetheless, the inclusion of this particular paper type is telling in contrast with the Florentine "hat" in that it is nearly identical to watermark F in Montecassino 871 (see table III.6). As shown in table III.16, variants of the Briquet number (746) that this watermark (in both Seville-Paris and Montecassino 871) most closely resembles are found in sources throughout the Italian peninsula, including both Florence and Naples, but its presence in two of the central late-Quattrocento sources of Neapolitan song weighs heavily in favor of Naples. Moreover, one of the fascicles where the crossbow watermark is most prevalent is also the fascicle wherein eleven of the collection's twenty-four Italian-texted songs—seven of which are *strambotti siciliani*—are preserved: fascicle XVII (signature P).[140] The other four watermarks appear in no more than one or two fascicles and, according to Briquet, have origins predominantly in the southern and central regions of the Italian peninsula.

While one might assume that Seville-Paris's fascicle structure would correspond directly to the sixteenth-century alphabetical signature system, as Plamenac and others have implied, a closer study of the original source demonstrates that this is not always the case.[141] In fact, as shown in table III.17, the alphabetical signatures

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137   Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 511. Plamenac's reconstruction would likely not have been possible without this alphabetical foliation system, as he notes himself in his first installment on that subject. He even goes so far as to suggest that the foliation system is in Colón's own hand, comparing it with the handwriting of his autograph *Regestrum*, but having examined both documents, I am not entirely convinced that this is the case.

138   There is another partial watermark present in Paris 4379, which was too damaged to be identified.

139   Fascicle XIV includes watermarks D and F, and even though D is the only watermark visible in fascicle XVII (signature P), it is clear from the document itself that the outer bifolium (fols. p1 and p10) is of a different paper type.

140   This fascicle is subject of further consideration in the section on Seville-Paris's Italian-texted song.

141   Among the three major studies that deal with paleographic and codicological issues in this manuscript, there is no complete analysis of the fascicle structure other than Plamenac's original description of the alphabetical signature system. See Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 511.

WM	Description	Fasc.	Dating/provenance
A	Hat (Chapeau)	I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, X, XVI, XVIII, XIX	An "exclusively Italian" watermark, according to Briquet;[142] resembles most closely Briquet, nos. 3387 (Florence: 1465, 1469–75; Venice: 1464–73; Siena: 1465–69; etc.) and 3391 (Florence: 1491, 1493–1502; Venice: 1497)
B	Crossed arrows with star (Deux fleches en sautoir)	II, IX	Briquet identifies the crossed arrows as "essentially Italian";[143] no exact match, resembles most closely Briquet, no. 6287 (Mantua: 1468; Udine: 1470)
C	Falcon with harness in circle	IX	Unidentifiable; no match in Briquet
D	Crossbow in circle (Arbalète)	XI, XIII, XIV, XVII	The variant of the crossbow within a circle is of Italian provenance, according to Briquet;[144] resembles most closely Briquet, no. 746 (Lucca: 1469–73; with variants in Florence: 1501–3; Rome: 1469–72; Venice: 1471–73, 1475; Bologna: 1472; Naples: 1475)[145]
E	Eagle in circle (Aigle à une tête inscrit dans un cercle)	XII	No exact match, resembles most closely Briquet, nos. 201 (Naples: 1469; variants in Naples: 1475; Venice: 1476) and 206 (Olmütz: 1532)
F	Crown-topped column (Colonne)	XIV, XV	No exact match, resembles most closely Briquet, no. 4411 (Macerata: 1460; variants in Rome: 1460–65; Volterra: 1468; Naples: 1479; Udine: 1494–98; Florence: 1496; Venice: 1475)

Table III.16. Watermarks in Seville-Paris.[146]

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142 Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 1:222 ("Le chapeau [de cardinal?] est une marque exclusivement italienne").

143 Ibid., 2:361 ("Ce filigrane est essentiellement italien").

144 Ibid., 1:49 ("Toute les var. de l'arbalète inscrite dans un cercle sont de provenance italienne").

145 This is the same as (or very similar to) watermark F in Montecassino 871. See table III.6 in Montecassino section above.

146 The identification of these watermarks is a result of my study of the original manuscripts at both the Biblioteca Colombina and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. I extend my thanks to the librarians at those two institutions for allowing me access to the original documents in order to make these assessments.

Fasc.	Folios[147]	WM	Scribe	Staves	Structural features	Contents
I	*Sev*1–5 (a1–a5)	A	1	6 or none	Originally a six-folio gathering but the first folio was cut prior to the completion of the alphabetical signatures	Truncated index (missing first page), Guidonian hand, and musical treatise
II	*Sev*6–9 (a6–a9)	B	–	7	Intact four-folio gathering	Blank
III	*Sev*10–14 (b1–b5)	A	1	7	Originally a six-folio gathering but the last folio (orig. b6) was cut	Mostly French chansons and "La Martinella"
[IIIa]	[b7–b10]	–	–	7	Originally a four-folio gathering, lost sometime between 1515 (Colón's description) and 1684 (Loaysa's catalogue)	–
IV	*Sev*15–24 (c1–c10)	A	1	7	Intact quintern (ten fols. total) with no cuts	Entirely French chansons
V	*Sev*25–34 (d1–d10)	A	1, 4	7	Intact quintern (ten fols. total) with no cuts	Mostly French chansons with one German and one and a half Italian pieces
VI	*Sev*35, *Par*1–10, *Sev*36 (e1–e12)	A	2	7	Originally an intact sextern (twelve fols. total), from which the internal quintern was removed/bound as the first ten folios in Paris 4379	Mix of repertories: several quodlibets mixing melodies with Italian, Latin, and French texts; French chansons, half of an Italian song, and one song in Hebrew
VII	*Sev*37–38 (f1–f2)	A	2	7	Single bifolium	One song in Latin: "Ave regina celorum"

Table III.17. Fascicle structure of the reconstructed Seville-Paris chansonnier.

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147 Due to the complicated nature of this manuscript's foliation, in listing folio numbers here, I will include the modern Arabic-numeral foliation system for each individual portion preceded by the abbreviation *Sev* or *Par* in each case, as well as Colòn's early sixteenth-century alphabetical signature foliation in parentheses.

Fasc.	Folios	WM	Scribe	Staves	Structural features	Contents
VIII	*Par*11–19 (f4–f12)	A	2	7	Originally a full quintern (ten fols. total), but the first folio (f3) was cut out	Entirely French chansons (some set in quodlibet style)
IX	*Par*20, *Sev*39–48 (g1, g3–g12)	B, C	5, 1	7 (g1, g11–12) and 6 (g3–10)	Originally a full sextern, but the first folio (g1) was removed/ bound in Paris 4379 and the second (g2) was cut (now missing); different paper-ruling style on the interior eight folios	Mix of song repertories with French, Italian, Latin, and German texts
X	*Sev*49, *Par*21–30, *Sev*50 (h1–h12)	A	2	7	Originally an intact sextern (twelve fols. total), from which the internal quintern was removed/bound in Paris 4379	Mostly French chansons with one Italian ballata ("O rosa bella")
XI	*Sev*51–62 (j1–j12)	D	1	6	Intact sextern (twelve fols. total) with no cuts	Entirely French chansons
XII	*Sev*63–74 (k1–k12)	E	2	7	Intact sextern (twelve fols. total) with no cuts	Entirely French chansons
XIII	*Sev*75–86 (l1–l12)	D	2	7	Intact sextern (twelve fols. total) with no cuts	Mostly French chansons with one textless song
XIV	*Sev*87–98 (m1–m12)	D, F	2, 3	7	Intact sextern (twelve fols. total) with no cuts	French chansons (one textless) with a few in Latin, Italian, German, English
XV	*Sev*99, *Par*31–41 (n1–n12)	F	3, 5, 1	7	Originally an intact sextern (twelve fols. total), of which all but the first folio (n1) were removed/bound in Paris 4379; n1 is pasted to the end of fascicle XIV in Seville 5-I-43	Mostly French chansons with one German and one Italian song

Table III.17 (*continued*).

Fasc.	Folios	WM	Scribe	Staves	Structural features	Contents
XVI	*Par*42, *Sev*100–10 (o1–o12)	A	2, 3	7	Originally an intact sextern (twelve fols. total), from which the first folio (o1) was removed/bound in Paris 4379; o1 is pasted to the end of fascicle XV in Paris 4379	Almost entirely French chansons, with half of a German song on the verso side of last folio
XVII	*Sev*111–20 (p1–p10)	D	3, 5, 1	7 (p1, p10) and 6 (p2–9)	Intact quintern (ten fols. total) with no cuts; different paper-ruling style on the interior eight folios	Mostly Italian-texted songs (two textless) with half a German song and half a French song on the outer folio sides that overlap with fascicles XVI and XVIII
XVIII	*Sev*121–30 (q1–q10)	A	1, 4, 5	7	Intact quintern (ten fols. total) with no cuts	French chansons with a few textless pieces and one and a half Italian songs
XIX	*Sev*131–38 (r1–r8)	A	4, 5, 6	7	Intact eight-folio gathering (four bifolia) with no cuts	Mix of French and Italian pieces

Table III.17 (*continued*).

A, B, and F were each originally organized as two separate structural units. This leaves us with nineteen (formerly twenty) separate fascicles, fourteen of which correspond directly to the system of seventeen alphabetical signatures inscribed in the sixteenth century.

The manuscript's fascicles are typically constructed from one or, at most, two paper types structured, in large part, as sexterns (VI, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI) and quinterns (IV, V, VIII, XVII, XVIII).[148] Within this organized structure, the majority of the collection's musical works are distributed relatively evenly throughout; most fascicles, in fact, represent a microcosm of the overall repertory, preserving mostly French chansons with one or more works from another tradi-

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148 As mentioned earlier in note 85, Atlas claims that the preponderance of sexterns in this manuscript (and others) is a piece of evidence in favor of the manuscript's Neapolitan origin, as that was a typical fascicle structure used at Neapolitan scriptoria. See Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 47–48 (esp. 48, n. 16).

tion. There are a few significant exceptions to this, however. Fascicle VI, for example, transmits a number of quodlibets, combining Italian, French, and Latin texts, in addition to a mixed repertory that includes full songs in French, Italian, and Hebrew. Moreover, the aforementioned fascicle XVII is made up of almost exclusively Italian-texted song, making it the only self-contained structural unit in the entire collection to privilege a non-French repertory.

As previously stated, the paper within these fascicles was pre-ruled in one of two different styles with either six or seven five-line staves. As indicated in table III.17, the number of staves is usually maintained uniformly throughout a given fascicle; however, at times, these two preparation styles are seen to coexist within a single gathering, as is the case in fascicles IX (signature G) and XVII (signature P). In both of these cases, an outer bifolium (or two bifolia, in the case of fascicle IX) with one paper type and ruling style encloses an internal quatern with another, almost as though the internal quatern were being protected by an outer cover. This varied material composition is atypical of the manuscript as a whole and may indicate another pre-existing use of these internal six-stave portions of each fascicle prior to their incorporation into the chansonnier's overall structure. Indeed, given that fascicles IX and especially XVII preserve some of the highest proportions of non-French repertory of the entire collection, it is conceivable that they could have functioned originally as independent song booklets to which later additions were made as they were integrated into the larger codex.[149] In spite of the obvious structural differences between the two, these two gatherings resemble—in their contents—the fascicles that preserve the largest numbers of Italian-texted song in Montecassino 871.

Fascicles IX and XVII can be further understood through the lens of the scribes who copied and compiled them. As mentioned earlier, Seville-Paris is largely the work of three main scribes with, in my estimation, some smaller additions made by three others for a total of six scribes overall (see table III.18).[150] Writing in

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149 On the booklet or independent fascicle manuscript, see Hanna III, "Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts."

150 It is worth noting that previous scholarship on this manuscript has focused largely on the three main hands to the exclusion of the three addition hands, which I have identified in my own analysis of the manuscript. Plamenac's study identifies and describes three main scribes and indicates the general sections of the manuscript for which they are each responsible, as follows: scribe 1 (index/musical treatise, as well as the music in signatures b, c, and most of d, and reappearing at different intervals later in the manuscript); scribe 2 (the music in signatures e, f, h, k, and o); and scribe 3 (the music in most of signatures m and n). Beyond this, he does not account for the scribal hands that might appear in other sections of the manuscript (in particular, signatures p, q, and r). Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 513. The introduction to Moerk's dissertation reiterates this three-scribe division and presents a diagram analysis of the scribal disposition throughout the manuscript, which agrees only in part with my own. Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier Microform," 11–13. Boorman's article on scribal habit in Seville-Paris also identifies three main scribes and

an angular semi-gothic script with thick pen-strokes and strictly diamond-shaped note-heads, scribe 1 copied all or part of ten of the manuscript's nineteen fascicles, including the opening fascicle's index and musical treatise. Scribe 2, responsible for copying all or part of eight fascicles, also writes in a semi-gothic style, but differs from scribe 1 in the more rounded diamond shapes of his note-heads, as well as the decorative flourishes in his text. Scribe 2 also presents more complete and correct French lyric texts, while scribe 1 typically includes full texts for Italian songs, but only incipits for the French repertory.[151] Unlike scribes 1 and 2, scribe 3 copies a more limited portion of the manuscript—nearly all of two fascicles and smaller portions of two others—in a distinct humanistic script with oval-shaped note-heads and neat, rounded lettering in the accompanying lyric texts. In general, it appears as though each scribe took responsibility for specific fascicles in the collection and then filled in smaller portions of fascicles that were not yet complete. Scribes 1 and 2, in particular, appear to have collaborated in copying certain works that bridge the gap between two fascicles—that is, that occupied manuscript openings created by the final verso side of one fascicle and the initial recto side of the next.[152] In contrast, scribe 3 seems to work independently throughout.

The three additional scribes, on the other hand, are responsible for smaller portions of the manuscript's repertory to varying degrees of completion and, most prominently, in the final two fascicles. Scribes 4 and 5 both write in a semi-gothic style, but differ from scribes 1 and 2 in their *ductus*. Scribe 4 is quite similar to scribe 1, but has a more slanted pen stroke in both diamond-shaped semibreves and rectangular breves and incorporates a decorative flourish into the lettering of his texts. In contrast, scribe 5's note shapes seem to fall somewhere between the styles of scribes 1 and 2 with a lighter pen stroke and an inconsistent *ductus*, resulting in slightly rounded diamond shapes and unevenly drawn note-heads and stems. Scribe 6 is the most limited of the additional hands, but stands out the most with unusually small teardrop-shaped note-heads drawn in a single fluid pen stroke. Evidence of collaboration is also present in the works copied by these scribes, most of which appear to have been added after the completion of the collection's index by scribe 1.

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presents a diagram analysis, which is closer to my own, but differs considerably in that he does not consider the "addition scribes" (as I have called them) to be distinct from the three main scribes. Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions," 327. The exception to this three-scribe approach is found in Anglés's description of the manuscript in which he identified at least eight scribes, acknowledging that it is at times difficult to tell them apart. Given that he was only working from the Seville portion of the manuscript, however, his analysis has been largely superseded by Plamenac and others. See Anglés, "El 'Chansonnier français'," 1359–61; Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 513–14.

151 Plamenac has noted, "even these [French incipits copied by scribe 1] are often corrupt," concluding that scribe 1 was almost certainly an Italian with little knowledge of French. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 513.

152 This is the case in the following examples: "Puisque je vis le regard gratieux" (fols. *Sev*50v–51r [h12v–j1r]), "Ce qu'on fait a catimini" (fols. *Sev*62v–63r [j12v–k1r]), and "Esprouver my fault" (fols. *Par*41v–42r [n12v–o1r]). Plamenac also notes these examples of scribal collaboration, see ibid.

Scribe	Fasc.	Folios (modern and alphabetical)	Other features or additions[153]
1	I	*Sev*1–5 (a1–a5)	Truncated index and theoretical treatise; additions to the truncated index on fols. 1v–2r in a later hand
	III	*Sev*10–14 (b1–b5)	Beginning of the musical collection
	IV	*Sev*15–24 (c1–c10)	
	V	*Sev*25–32r, 34v (d1–d8r, d10v)[154]	Music on 34v seems to be a later addition to the fascicle
	VI	*Sev*35r (e1r)	Continuation of the piece started on 34v, which bridges the gap between fascicles V and VI
	IX	*Sev*40v–48 (g4v–g12)	Some pages left blank on fols. 47r–v and 48v; the text accompanying the music on fols. 46v and 48r was added by a different hand
	XI	*Sev*51–62 (j1–j12)	Music on fol. 51r is a continuation of the piece copied by scribe 2 on fol. 50v (collaboration between the two scribes)
	XV	*Par*40v, 41v (n11v, n12v)	Additions of voice parts made to a section copied by another scribe
	XVII	*Sev*113v–120v (p3v–p10v)	
	XVIII	*Sev*121r–122v, 125v–127r (q1r–q2v, q5v–q7r)	
2	VI	*Sev*35v, *Par*1r–10v, *Sev*36r–v (e1v–e12v)	

Table III.18. Scribal hands in Seville-Paris.[155]

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153 Unlike in Perugia 431, the lyric texts and the musical settings in Seville-Paris are almost always copied by the same hand. In the few instances where they are not the same, I have noted the difference in this column.

154 Following folio 32r, there is a shift in the appearance of the scribal hand that could either (a) reflect a new hand; or (b) reflect a later addition in a lighter colored ink by the same hand (scribe 1). The note shapes are quite similar, but there are small differences, such as the ink color and a slight slant in some of the note heads (especially the diamond-shaped semibreves), which seem to preclude any certainty that this was scribe 1 copying at a later time.

155 This table differs from those provided in the studies of Moerk and Boorman in that it acknowledges a total of six hands, rather than three. See Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier Microform," 11–13; Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions," 327.

Scribe	Fasc.	Folios (modern and alphabetical)	Other features or additions
	VII	*Sev*37r–38v (f1r–f2v)	Single bifolium, f1r is blank, no decorative initials in this section
	VIII	*Par*11r–19v (f4r–f12v)	
	X	*Sev*49r–v, *Par*21r–30v, *Sev*50r–v (h1r–h12v)	
	XII	*Sev*63r–74v (k1r–k12v)	
	XIII	*Sev*75r–86v (l1r–l12v)	
	XIV	*Sev*87r–88r (m1r–m2r)	
	XVI	*Par*42r–v, *Sev*100r–109r (o1r–o11r)	
3	XIV	*Sev*88v–98v (m2v–m12v)	
	XV	*Sev*99r–v, *Par*31r–40r (n1r–n11r)	
	XVI	*Sev*109v–110v (o11v–o12v)	
	XVII	*Sev*111r (p1r)	Continuation of the piece that starts on fol. o12v (*Sev*110v)
4	V	*Sev*32v–33v (d8v–9v)	Later addition to a fascicle written otherwise entirely by scribe 1; text on fol. d9r–v is in a different hand (scribe 5)
	XVIII	*Sev*123v–125r (q3v–q5r)	
	XIX	*Sev*133v–134r, 136v–138v (r3v–r4r, r6v–r8v)	Text on fols. r3v–r4r appears to be in a different hand (scribe 5); the Cantus part on fol. r6v is written by scribe 6 even though the text is in the hand on scribe 4
5	IX	*Par*20v, *Sev*39r–40r (g1v, g3r–g4r)	
	XV	*Par*40v–41r (n11v–n12r)	Contraltus voice on fol. n11v (*Par*40v) is written by scribe 1
	XVII	*Sev*111v–113r (p1v–p3r)	
	XVIII	*Sev*127v–130v (q7v–q10v)	
	XIX	*Sev*131r–133r, 134v–135r (r1r–r3r, r4v–r5r)	
6	XIX	*Sev*135v–136v (r5v–r6v)	Music for cantus part only on fol. r6v

Table III.18 (*continued*).

In fact, despite its truncated form, the surviving portion of the index copied by scribe 1 provides valuable evidence related to the manuscript's compilation. As is typical of many other musical manuscript indexes of the period, the index at the beginning of Seville-Paris is organized first alphabetically by incipit and then in the order of appearance.[156] Not including later additions, the surviving index preserves a fragmentary portion of the songs beginning with L followed by what appear initially to be full lists for letters M through S. The only song incipits starting with the letter T or later are added by a later hand, which Plamenac has suggested is Fernando Colón's.[157] In total, only fifty-three out of the manuscript's 167 songs are listed in the portion of the index that survives, and five of those were added by a later hand (possibly Colón's). Meanwhile, nearly thirty of the songs in Seville-Paris with incipits beginning with the letter M or later were left out of the index altogether, including several that were copied by scribe 1, for example: "So' stato nel inferno tanto tanto," "Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento," and "Sospirar cor mio po' che perdisti" (all found in fascicle XVII, signature P).

Even with these few omissions of works copied by scribe 1, songs copied by the three additional scribes tend to be the most common among those left out. In particular, incipits from the second half of the alphabet in fascicle XIX—which was copied exclusively by scribes 4, 5, and 6—are missing, including: "O zano bello zano caza fora le capre" and "Paix et ioie vous envoie dieulx." Also in fascicle XIX, "O venus bant" does appear listed in the index, but seems to have been added by scribe 5 in the only addition made by a scribe other than scribe 1 or Colón. The fragmentary index in Seville-Paris is, therefore, incomplete even within the portion that survives. Given that scribe 1 leaves out several of the works that he himself copied, it may be that he simply never completed the index starting with and past the letter S. But it is telling that songs beginning with O and P copied by scribes 4, 5, and 6 were either missing or had to be added to the index later. Indeed, the portions of the index categorized under these letters (O and P) would otherwise be complete—a clear indication that scribe 1 was not actively working on the manuscript at the time that these three addition scribes came into the process.

The manuscript's copying and compilation, thus, appears to have been the responsibility of two different groups of scribes, drawing from a number of different sources, over a period of some time. Indeed, the "layered nature" of Seville-Paris, as Boorman called it, is evident in the disposition of its scribes in relation to the material and repertorial structure of the manuscript as a whole.[158] Each of the

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156 For more on the criteria for analyzing music manuscript indexes in this period, see Bent, "Indexes in Late Medieval Polyphonic Music Manuscripts"; Bent, "The Trent 92 and Aosta Indexes."

157 See the comparison of the handwriting in Colón's *Regestrum* with the additions to the end of the index in Seville-Paris in Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," plate VIII.

158 Boorman, "Limitations and Extensions," 329.

three main scribes was clearly tasked with a certain portion of the repertory; two of them worked together at times to complete this work, while the other was more single-minded. Meanwhile, the three addition scribes contributed their portions of the repertory—some of which was Italian-texted—first, in the blank space left throughout the manuscript and then in a more concentrated fashion in the final two fascicles.

Although there is certainly a dominant paper type and ruling style (the Florentine hat watermark ruled with seven five-line staves), the presence of several other paper types and the six-stave ruling style, often corresponding to fascicles preserving the *strambotto* genre, provides further evidence of a more gradual process of compilation. As I will discuss in the following section, the place of Italian-texted song within this process reveals its changing status within the written medium. Largely concentrated in a single fascicle or rather added later into the spaces left blank by earlier scribes, this repertory still appears to be exceptional within the context of a French-style chansonnier; yet, its material treatment and *mise en page* also appear, in some instances, to have been carefully chosen by the scribe-compilers at work.

Italian-Texted Song in Seville-Paris

Much like both Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431, a large portion of the Italian-texted works in Seville-Paris are found in one concentrated grouping, rather than being spread evenly throughout the manuscript, as is the case with the manuscript's Franco-Flemish repertory. In fact, nearly half of these songs—including eight *strambotti* and three popular-style songs of undetermined genre—are found in one atypical gathering: fascicle XVII. Yet, as shown in table III.19, beyond this concentration of eleven songs in a single gathering, the remaining Italian-texted works in Seville-Paris tend to be scattered individually throughout the collection. In spite of these obvious differences, a closer look at how the Italian-texted corpus is treated both within fascicle XVII and in the collection more broadly reveals a consistent (and noteworthy) level of care and attention to detail in preserving complete music and text for each song throughout.

As in other polyphonic manuscripts connected to Naples, there are two main formats employed in copying these works: choirbook and compact choirbook.[159] Choirbook format is the more common of the two in that it is used for songs of every genre except the *strambotto*. Similar to Perugia 431, then, the scribes of Seville-Paris present Italian-texted song throughout the manuscript in whatever layout works best—providing as much space as might be needed to copy each work.

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159   See my discussion of the compact choirbook layout in the section above on Montecassino 871.

Fasc.	No. of Italian-texted works	Genres
III	1	1 song of undetermined form (*rondeau*?)
V	1.5	1 *caccia*, first half of a tenor melody/quodlibet setting
VI	.5 (+2?)	Second half of tenor melody/quodlibet setting (continued from the end of fascicle V), as well as 2 quodlibet settings of parts from "O rosa bella"
IX	1	1 *strambotto* (*toscano*)
X	2	2 *ballate*
XIV	1	1 *barzelletta*
XV	1	1 *canzonetta*/unidentified? ("Fortuna desperata")
XVII	11	8 *strambotti* (7 *siciliani*, 1 truncated), 3 popular-style songs of undetermined genre (*canzonetta*?)
XVIII	1.5	1.5 popular tenor melody settings (one bridges the gap between the last verso side of fascicle XVIII and the first recto side of XIX)
XIX	3.5	2.5 popular tenor melody settings, 1 *villanesca napoletana*

Table III.19. Distribution of Italian-texted works in the Seville-Paris chansonnier.

This is quite different from the copying style of the scribe for Montecassino 871, who typically gives Italian-texted song much less space (almost always in compact choirbook format) than other comparable works in the French or Spanish traditions (typically in choirbook format). Illustrated in figures III.20 and III.21, a comparison of the way each of these two manuscripts—Montecassino 871 and Seville-Paris, respectively—presents Juan Cornago's polyphonic setting of the *barzelletta* "Moro perche non day fede" demonstrates clearly the two contrasting approaches.

In both copies, the full song—including both *prima* and *secunda partes*—is preserved in its entirety, and yet the scribe-compiler for Montecassino 871 uses, quite literally, half the space as his counterpart in Seville-Paris. In order to accomplish this, the scribe in Montecassino 871 must cram the *secunda pars* of the Cantus into a mere three quarters of a stave, making up for lack of space by running the final cadential passage into the right-side margin. In contrast, the copy of Cornago's *barzelletta* setting in Seville-Paris comes across as positively luxurious in its use of space. Each voice part is transcribed in evenly spaced note-heads and takes up at least four staves with the Cantus running over onto a fifth and the Contratenor requiring a *residuum* in the empty space left below the Cantus. Often leaving quite a bit of empty space, the use of full choirbook openings in Seville-Paris to
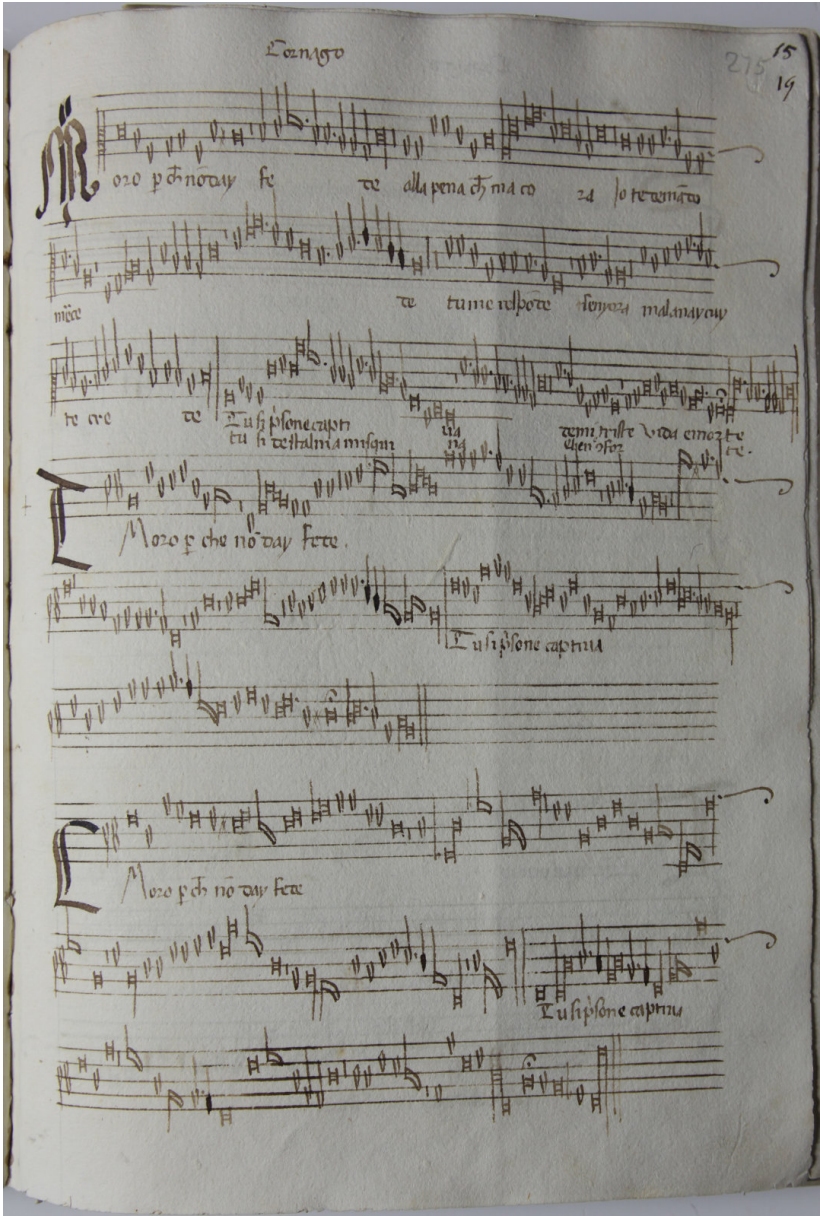
Figure III.20. "Moro perche non day fede" in Montecassino 871, p. 275.

Figure III.21. "Moro perche non day fede" in Seville-Paris, fols. *Sev*93v–94r (m7v–m8r).

Figure III.22. "Vilana che sa tu far," Seville-Paris, fols. *Sev*34v–35r (d10v–e1r).

accommodate songs with Italian texts places these works on equal footing with other repertories more established within the written medium.

Furthermore, great effort is taken by all scribes in Seville-Paris to provide full texts, properly underlaid with the musical setting for each Italian-texted song.[160] Once again, Seville-Paris resembles Perugia 431 in this way; in contrast, Montecassino 871 and, as I will discuss subsequently, Bologna Q 16 are significantly less consistent in the inclusion of full texts. In Perugia 431, the full texts were often filled in later by one of the other scribes, but in Seville-Paris the copying of text and music together is, more often than not, executed by a single hand. The extent of this effort is particularly striking, for instance, in pains taken to preserve music and text together in the anonymous quodlibet tenor setting "Vilana che che sa tu far." As shown in figure III.22, scribe 1 copies this four-voice work in choirbook format across the divide between fascicles V and VI with full text underlay included not only in the Cantus part, but, to a certain extent, in the other voice parts as well. The scribe's endeavor to achieve completeness in his copy of "Vilana che sa tu far" is, in and of itself, an impressive feat. It is unusual, to say the least, for individual voice parts other than the Cantus to be texted in any secular repertory, and particularly in Italian song, which is so often associated with a performance style of solo voice and instrumental accompaniment. Yet, here we see full text in the Cantus and Tenor, partial full text in the Contraltus, and text incipit and cues in the Contrabassus—each presenting a slightly different version of the popular medley text to be interwoven with the others, as shown in table III.20.

In this song's imitative polyphonic texture, the contrasting versions of the lyrics underlaid with each voice part in Seville-Paris fit together perfectly—with each voice (Cantus, Tenor, and Contraltus) filling in what the others leave out. The four-voice texture, then, not only builds polyphonically upon a series of melodic themes in the tenor part (from the popular melody for "Vilana che sa tu far" to the street cries "herbecine le farine" and finally the Kyrie from the mass ordinary); it also expands the aural disposition and dialogic structure of the lyrics associated with each one. The Cantus and Contraltus parts ask in sequential imitative entrances, "Vilana che sa tu far?" (Peasant girl, what do you know how to do?)—to which the Tenor is the first to reply, "So filar e so naspar / so chusir e so tagiar / so ballar e so ca[n]tar / e so far chachonzelle" (I know how to spin and I know how to card / I know how to stich and I know how to trim / I know how to dance and I know how to sing / and I know how to make[161] little songs).

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160 This effort is not reflected as consistently in other repertories throughout the collection, including the more prominently featured French chansons.

161 The verb "fare" here, which can literally be translated as "to make," really means "to compose" or "to create." In the context of this popular tune, I would even argue that "fare" could mean, "to improvise," as in "I know how to improvise [or make up] little songs."

Cantus	Tenor	Contraltus	Contrabassus
Vilana che sa tu far		Vilana che sa tu far	Vilana ch[e] sa tu far
So filar e so naspar	So filar e so naspar	So filar e so naspar	
So chusir so tagiar	so chusir e so tagiar		
	so ballar e so ca[n]tar		
e so far chazonzelle	e so far chachonzelle	e so far chachonzelle	
fe me de quelle		fe me de quelle	
non fero se non ho	non fero se non ho	non foro se non ho	
	herbecine la farine		
	el formaio una gallina		
pesta pesta pur ben			
tantara tantara	tantara tantara		
de pur susso	de pur susso		
alza la gamba	alza la gamba		
exaudi nos	exaudi nos		
kyrie leyson	kyrie leyson	kyrie leyson	kyrie leyson
	christe leyson	christe leyson	[christ]e leyson
	kyrie leyson	kyrie leyson[162]	kyrie leyson

Table III.20. Text underlay for individual voice parts in "Vilana che sa tu far."

The Cantus and Contraltus then respond with the imperative, "fe me de quelle" (sing [literally: make] me some of those [songs]), which leads the Tenor into a new tune, the popular street cry reminiscent of the refrain to a *villanesca alla napoletana*: "herbecine la farine el formaio una gallina etc."[163]

The complex polyphonic rendering of this popular medley thus ties the disposition of the text to that of the music throughout the work's four-voice texture.[164] The opening imitative entrances in the upper three voices are used to emphasize the dialogic structure of the text, which is divided up among the voices in a kind of call-and-response format. Following this, the tenor sings the popular street cry ("Herbecine la farine etc.") upon a series of repeated pitches in an improvisatory, patter-

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162 A full translation of this text, combining Cantus, Tenor and Contraltus versions, is as follows: "Peasant girl, what do you know how to do? / I know how to spin and I know how to card, / I know how to stitch and I know how to trim, / I know how to dance and I know how to sing, / and I know how to sing little songs. / Sing me some. / I won't unless I have / Fine herbs, flour, / Cheese, a hen. / Pestle it well. / Tantara, tantara. / Oh! up there too! / Raise the leg. / Hear us. / Lord, have mercy on us. / Christ, have mercy on us. / Lord, have mercy on us." Thanks to Anne MacNeil for consulting with me on this translation.

163 Indeed, in the *villanesca napoletana* copied later on in the same manuscript ("Cavalcha Sinisbaldo"), the refrain text presents a similar series of food items (likely to be found in an open-air market): "pan e panada / man a la braga / pere mere / nuse castagne / fige lasagne / do sosine fresche."

164 See the full modern transcription of "Vilana che sa tu far" in example D.1 in appendix D.

like style while the other voices perform untexted melismas in florid polyphony around it. Finally, the Kyrie section—texted in all four voices—is set in the style of a polyphonic mass movement with paired imitation between the Tenor and Contrabassus embellished by florid melismatic polyphony in the upper voices. Demonstrating a subtle sensitivity to the rendering of both text and music throughout, whoever composed "Vilana che sa tu far" was an experienced and skilled musician, most likely employed in a musical chapel. That much is clear. What is particularly striking in Seville-Paris's preservation of this song, however, is that the scribe responsible for copying it was careful to replicate all of the textual subtleties employed by the composer. Indeed, in contrast, the copy of "Vilana che sa tu far" in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Banco Rari 229—the only other contemporary manuscript to transmit the work—is completely untexted.[165] In Seville-Paris, the complete and precise rendering of different versions of text underlay for each of the song's four voice parts exemplifies the high level of attention given to music-text pairings in Italian-texted works throughout the manuscript.

Nowhere is this dual emphasis on music and text more evident than in the concentration of Italian songs in fascicle XVII (signature P), diagrammed in figure III.23. Fascicle XVII is an intact quintern copied by three different scribes on what seems to be a single paper type (D) prepared in two different styles: the outer bifolium has seven pre-drawn staves and no visible watermark,[166] while the inner quatern has six slightly longer pre-drawn staves and frequent instances of watermark D. Structurally and repertorially, then, this gathering appears as a kind of self-contained booklet. The external sides of the outer bifolium (p1r and p10v) are used to copy portions of works from other repertories found in the preceding and following fascicles (the German song "Seydt ich dich hers lieb meyden mues" on p1r and the French chanson "Bien, bien" on p10v) by scribes 3 and 1, respectively. These outer leaves do the work of integrating the gathering within the larger collection; between them, however, we find a mini-corpus of Italian-texted song that in no way resembles the rest of the manuscript (see figure III.23).

With the exception of the unique setting of "Fatti bene a sto meschino," which was copied by scribe 5 in a spacious choirbook format on the first two openings (fols. *Sev*111v–113r [p1v–3r]),[167] the majority of the Italian-texted corpus in this

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165 There is also a copy of the song presented later in the print source Petrucci, *Canti C*, fols. 109v–110r (no. 84), but here too, we are only given incipits for each voice part rather than the full text, as in Seville-Paris.

166 Given the lack of a watermark on this bifolium and the difference in ruling style, it is not out of the question that this outer layer could constitute a different paper type from that of the internal portion of the gathering (marked consistently with watermark D). That being said, not all paper with watermark D in Seville-Paris is ruled with six staves instead of seven, so there is no way to know with certainty.

167 This is likely a later addition to the fascicle in empty space left by scribe 1.
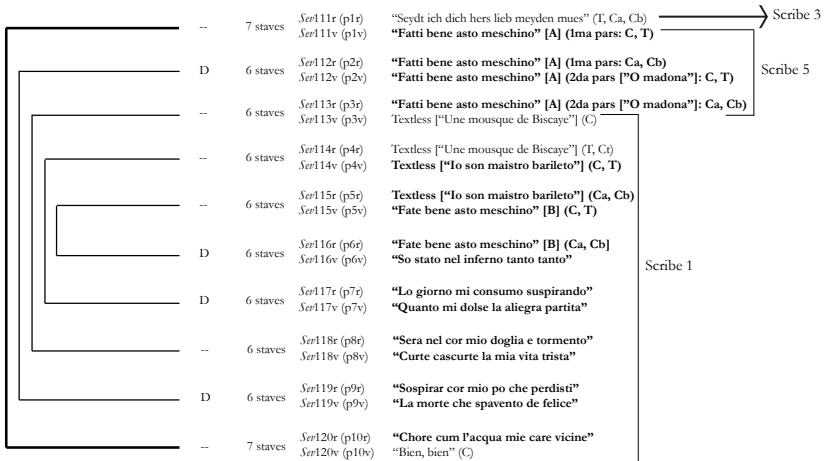
Figure III.23. Diagram of fascicle XVII (signature P) in Seville-Paris chansonnier.[168]

fascicle—including all eight *strambotti*—was copied by scribe 1. These *strambotto* settings are presented uniformly in compact choirbook layout, and all except one ("Chore cum l'acqua care mie vicine" on fol. *Sev*120r [p10r]) are found on paper prepared with six staves instead of seven. As shown in figure III.24 below, this six-stave paper treatment seems particularly well suited to the three-voice *strambotto* setting, which typically provides each voice with two full staves. The six-stave ruling style favored in this gathering provides the perfect visual field for this type of song. Setting only the first couplet of the eight-verse stanza in a clear homophonic texture, the music itself—to be repeated four times in performance—is fairly simple compared with other genres (Italian-texted or otherwise) throughout the collection. Given this characteristic brevity, the full three-voice composition can be accommodated easily on a single page. As shown in the settings of "So stato nel inferno tanto tanto" and "Lo giorno mi consume suspirando" in figure III.24, each voice is copied in about one and a half staves. The first two lines of the *strambotto* text are underlaid with the melody in the Cantus part, and each remaining couplet is copied into the empty half stave left after each voice part. This allows for the full song, including both music and text, to fit within the six-stave format without leaving any extra space or giving the impression of being crowded on the page.

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168 As with similar diagrams in the discussion of Montecassino 871 earlier in this chapter, this diagram provides the following information about fascicle XVII from left to right: visual illustration of fascicle structure, paper type, ruling style (6 v. 7 staves), foliation (modern and signature-based), incipits of works copied (with corresponding voice parts when appropriate), and scribal attribution.

Figure III.24. Seville-Paris, fols. *Sev* 116v–117r (p6v–7r).

While this six-stave ruling style is typically used on paper with watermark D—as in fascicle XVII, it appears on other paper types as well (see data in table III.17). We cannot assume, therefore, that the paper was acquired by the manuscript's scribe-compilers pre-ruled or that the use of this specific ruling style in various instances was necessarily coincidental. Indeed, the consistency with which the *strambotto* genre, in particular, is transcribed—on six-stave-ruled paper in compact choir-book format—seems to indicate a conscious choice on the part of scribe 1 to give those songs a distinctive visual rendering. Outside of fascicle XVII, the only other *strambotto* in Seville-Paris, "Yo agio pianto tanto che ormay," appears in fascicle IX (fol. *Sev*42r [g6r]). It is similarly copied by scribe 1 on six-stave-ruled paper (with watermark C, rather than D) in compact choirbook format; however, in this case, the musical setting is for four voices instead of three. The scribe accommodates this change by giving each voice part a single stave, underlaying the first lyric couplet with the Cantus melody, as usual, and providing the remaining six verses in the staves left blank below the Contra part. With either a three- or four-voice setting, then, scribe 1 treats the *strambotto* as a complete musico-poetic entity for which the lyric text is equally important to the music.

The unusual level of respect given to the text in Seville-Paris's corpus of Italian song can be best understood, perhaps, in the context of the Neapolitan lyric tradition from which many of these works were drawn. Unlike Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431, which respectively transmit ten and eight Italian-texted works with concordances in Neapolitan literary manuscripts, Seville-Paris preserves only five songs for which copies survive in contemporary collections of lyric poetry (table III.21).

C. no.	Incipit	Neapolitan Literary MS
68	O rosa bella	Paris 1035
91	So stato nel inferno tanto tanto	Vaticano latino 10656, Vaticano latino 11255
80	Quanto mi dolse la aliegra partita	Vaticano latino 11255 ("crudel")
89	Sera nel cor mio doglia et tormento	Riccardiana 2752, Vaticano latino 11255
92	Sospirar cor mio po' che perdisti	Vaticano latino 10656

Table III.21. Italian-texted works in Seville-Paris with Neapolitan literary concordances.

This small but significant group of songs with concordances in Neapolitan literary manuscripts reflects a somewhat different emphasis from what is found the previous two manuscripts discussed in this chapter. Whereas Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431 both preserve lyric texts that were attributed to known poets (such as Francesco Galeota and Serafino Aquilano) in other sources, all of the concordant texts in Seville-Paris—with the exception of the "O rosa bella," which has been tenuously attributed to Leonardo Giustinian—are anonymous *strambotti*

copied, once again, in the Italian-oriented fascicle XVII.[169] This small, but significant, group of *strambotti* is representative of the clear repertorial ties between the Italian-texted song in Seville-Paris and the communal (and often authorially ambiguous) practice of singing lyric poetry in the Kingdom of Naples.

Nevertheless, it is imperative that one not equate such ties with the presence of common written exemplars. A comparison of different versions of "Quanto mi dolse la aliegra [or nigra or crudel] partita" in Seville-Paris, Montecassino 871, and Vaticano latino 11255, for example, shows clearly that these poems—having originated in the oral tradition—were quite flexible in their vocabulary and verse structure (see table III.22). First and foremost, it is noteworthy that the content of the poem's incipit shifts from one source to the next. Is the painful departure ("Quanto mi dolse la . . . partita") to be described as "crudel" (cruel), "aliegra" (happy or, perhaps, bittersweet), or "nigra" (black or dark)? Of course, any of the three would work—even if "aliegra" seems a bit redundant in the context of the following verse ("Tanto son aliegro . . ."). Nor can one be justly identified as the correct or authoritative reading. Rather, given the presence of other similar variants in verses 3, 4, and 6 between Seville-Paris and Vaticano latino 11255, it is more likely that this song enjoyed a level of popularity in oral culture that allowed for some compositional freedom from one performance to the next. What finds its way into the written medium, then, is a telling illustration of the varied renderings this song (and others like it) likely had in the oral performance culture of late-Quattrocento Naples; ultimately, the memory of those renderings resulted in the differing textual versions we observe in extant written sources.[170]

Within Seville-Paris, then, Italian-texted song takes on a dual character. In being largely relegated to a single fascicle, its presence within the collection appears to be special or unusual in some way, as though it doesn't quite fit into the context of a polyphonic chansonnier. Yet, the manuscript's scribe-compilers also privilege this repertory within the written medium in several significant ways—from preserving complete musico-poetic texts as often as possible to providing the *strambotto* genre with a consistent *mise en page* on six-stave-ruled paper. That this repertory has its origin in oral performance and diffusion is evident not only from the texts themselves, but also from the fact that many of the Italian-texted songs in this collection are actually polyphonic settings of popular tunes. These include not only the previously discussed quodlibet "Vilana che sa tu far," but also other works in later fascicles (XVIII and XIX), such as

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169 "O rosa bella" is also the only song whose text is found in the *Cansonero napoletano* of 1468 (Paris 1035).

170 Indeed, as I will discuss further in part V, the version of "Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento" in Seville-Paris presents a similar case in that it differs from other concordant copies not only in orthography and vocabulary, but also in the ordering of poetic lines.

Montecassino 871, p. 416	Seville-Paris, fol. *Sev*117v (p7v)	Vaticano latino 11255, fol. 10v
Qvanto mi dolse la <u>nigra</u> partita	Quanto mi dolse la <u>aliegra</u> partita	Quanto mi duolso <u>de la crudel</u> partita
Tanto so alegro per la re-tornada	Tanto son aliegro per la ritornata	Tanto sono alegro de la ritoranta
	Chagio <u>trovata</u> quella che compita	Che haggio quella che e compita
	Dogni belleze et <u>da me tanto amata</u>	De ogni beleza tanta <u>desiata</u>
	La fazza mia chera impal-lidita	E la mia fazza che era impa-lidita
	<u>E ritornata chiara e colorata</u>	<u>Mo e tronata a la su dona am-ata</u>
	E la mia v[o]glia al tuto e fornita	E la mi voglia al tuto e for-nita
	Che quella che lassay agio trovata	Che quella che lasciai haggio trovata

Table III.22. Comparison of different extant versions of "Quanto mi dolse . . ."[171]

"Famene um pocho de quella mazacrocha," "Lenchioza mia lenchioza balarina," "O zano bello zano caza fora le capre," and "Che fa la ramanzina."[172] Unlike popular song settings in other Neapolitan manuscripts, these are not just three- or four-part treble-dominated harmonizations of a well-known melody.[173] Rather, the settings in Seville-Paris typically have a true polyphonic texture in which the popular tune is placed in the tenor voice and acts as a kind of *cantus firmus* upon which the other voices are built. Moreover, in the case of the famed *giustiniana* "O rosa bella," individual voice parts from the song's original polyphonic setting were even repurposed in two double-chanson settings with popular melodies from other repertories: (1) fols. *Par*1v–2r (e2v–3r), "O rosa bella" (C)/"In Pace veni creator" (T); and (2) fols. *Par*2v–3r (e3v–4r), "Seule esgaree" (C)/"O rosa bella" (T). In such settings, as Plamenac has pointed out, Seville Paris engages the "different ways in which the welding together of disparate tunes . . . could be achieved."[174] In compositions of this kind, it cannot be denied, writing is indispensable.

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171   Significant variants among the different versions are marked with an underscore.

172   This repertory, in particular "Lenchioza mia lenchioza balarina," seems to be connected to the Neapolitan dance tradition. See part II for my discussion of the role dance played among aristocratic circles in late-fifteenth-century Naples.

173   An example of this is the setting of "La vita de colino" found in Montecassino 871.

174   Plamenac, "A Reconstruction—I," 521.

Seville-Paris thus engages Italian-texted song of various styles and genres squarely within the written medium in a way that neither Montecassino 871 nor Perugia 431 could do. Great effort is made to preserve full musico-poetic texts; the *strambotto*—a genre that, even in the most richly decorated written sources, cannot help reflecting its oral performance origins—is given a consistent material treatment that perfectly suits its typical length and compositional make-up; and popular tunes are frequently embedded within complex polyphonic textures. Preserved in this way, a repertory that was originally composed and disseminated through predominantly oral means begins to reflect, and even adhere to, the cultural status and standards of written composition.

Bologna Q 16

Introduction

The fourth and final Neapolitan music manuscript preserving a substantial body of Italian-texted song is Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 16. Similar to Seville-Paris, Bologna Q 16 is a French-style polyphonic chansonnier. Although the majority of the manuscript's contents are Franco-Flemish works, the collection also includes a large number of Italian- and Spanish-texted pieces, which point to Aragonese Naples as a likely place of origin.[175] Given the high incidence of Spanish song, in particular, Sarah Fuller has suggested that the manuscript could have originated either in Naples or within the Roman milieu of Rodrigo Borgia in the years leading up to his reign as Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503).[176] Atlas disagrees with Fuller's ambivalent stance, however, and concludes in favor of Naples due to the manuscript's prevalent use of sextern gatherings.[177] As I will address in the following discussion, there are several other factors beyond the manuscript's codicological structure—including its watermarks and concordances with other manuscripts connected to Naples—that point to a likely Neapolitan origin.

Most of the manuscript is in the hand of a single scribe, who simultaneously identifies himself and dates the completion of his work at the end of the opening alphabetical index on fol. 7v: "Finis / Do[minus] 1.4.8.7. Marsilius."[178] Following Marsilius's contribution, several other scribal hands provide later additions that both take advantage of any space left blank by the primary scribe and supplement the

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175 The manuscript's Neapolitan origin was first proposed by Haberkamp in Haberkamp, *Die weltliche Vokalmusik in Spanien*, 66.

176 Fuller, "Additional Notes," 86.

177 See Atlas, "On the Neapolitan Provenance," 46, n. 5; and also Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, 1:235–36. On the connection between sexterns and Naples, see note 85 in the present chapter.

178 On this self-ascription, see Pease, "A Report on Codex Q16," 60.

collection's codicological structure with additional paper gatherings. Both Atlas and Fuller suggest that these additions were made during the 1490s, especially given their repertorial links to contemporary Neapolitan, Spanish, and even Florentine music sources.[179] In favor of this determination, Fuller also points out that "the additions form an organic extension of the main collection" by including some of the most widely known and disseminated French, Italian, and Spanish secular pieces of the day—an indication that "the manuscript remained in its original milieu . . . after Marsilius completed the main corpus."[180]

Taking into account both the original corpus and these later additions, this collection preserves a total of 131 musical works of which only twenty-four can be categorized as examples of Italian-texted song. Unlike the three other Neapolitan music manuscript of this period, however, most of these works consist of unidentified or irregular musical forms, which are rendered more uncertain by their lack of complete poetic texts. Bologna Q 16 thus stands in stark contrast to the other chansonnier-style collection in this study, Seville-Paris, in that its approach to Italian-texted song strongly prioritizes music over text. Indeed, many of the collection's works seem so divorced from the standard song forms of the period that Fuller has conjectured that they may constitute "an instrumental repertory of the late 15th century."[181] This potential connection to instrumental performance is particularly evident in dance-based works like "La bassa castiglya" (a polyphonic setting of the *bassa danza* tenor melody "La Spagna") and "La martinella." But it also comes through in the tendency toward extended sequential passages and florid ornamentation in more ambiguous works like "De piage core duro piu que sasso" and "O generosa."[182] The Italian-texted repertory in Bologna Q 16 thus inhabits a very different space from what we have seen thus far—one that may fit more comfortably within the musical tradition of dance than that of song.

Physical description

Like the three other Neapolitan music manuscripts already discussed, Bologna Q 16 is a modestly sized paper manuscript made up of 156 folios (as well as four guard-leaves, two in the front and two in the back), measuring 14.0 × 20.8 cm. The current binding, which is likely not original, consists of dark brown embossed

179 Atlas suggests that this connection to contemporary Florentine collections could be related to Alexander Agricola's 1492 sojourn in Naples. See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 121; Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, 1:235.

180 Fuller, "Additional Notes," 84.

181 It is important to clarify, however, that Fuller does not consider this the only possibility and problematizes her hypothesis at some length. See ibid., 92–93.

182 See table B.4 in appendix B for a full listing of the Italian-texted works in this manuscript.

leather on wood boards with hard brass latches and studs. The manuscript has two different foliation systems. The original foliation consists of Roman numerals written in black ink at the top right corner of the recto side for each leaf; however, this numbering system, which starts with Roman numeral I only after the manuscript's opening index on folio 14, is applied inconsistently by more than one hand (shifting with each change in scribe) and contains errors. Likely created to account for the inconsistencies in this earlier system, a later Arabic numeral foliation is written in light gray pencil at the top right corner of each recto side. This system is more consistent and was clearly executed once the entire manuscript was compiled—starting with the fragmentary Latin treatise on folio 1 and going through the index and main musical corpus ending on folio 155. The only major oversight in this system is an unfoliated leaf between 137 and 138, which were at one point pasted together. Thus, with the 155 foliated leaves and the unnumbered folio, which I call [137a], the manuscript has a total of 156 folios.

As shown in tables III.23 and III.24, the paper itself is of six different types, which are employed with varying levels of frequency over the course of the collection's eighteen fascicles. In general, each fascicle consists of a single paper type or, occasionally, two. Types A through C are utilized in the manuscript's more carefully structured original layer, while D through F appear in the layers added after Marsilius's work was completed in 1487. Overall, the most common types are A (in five fascicles), the two variants of C (in five fascicles), and D (in seven fascicles). At first glance, the fourth column of table III.23 reinforces the manuscript's ambiguous provenance between either Naples or Rome.

One of the most common types in the manuscript's original layer, watermark A (a set of crossed keys connected by a looped string) has been traced to papers from both Palermo and Rome in 1484. In contrast, the more limited watermark B (depicting a crown) appears to be from either Udine or, more likely given the dating in this case, Naples.[183] Appearing in five different fascicles, the two variants of watermark C (depicting a bird) are most similar to papers originating in Rome either in 1484 or between 1492 and 1500; however, Briquet also points out that additional variants of this watermark have been found in Rome (1475–81) and Naples (1475–1501) in addition to examples in Lucca, Venice, and Florence.[184] Furthermore, this ambiguity between Rome and Naples as a place of provenance arises again in watermark D (depicting a bird within a circle)—the main paper type to be featured in the additions made to Marsilius's original layer in fascicles XI

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183 According to Briquet, the paper sourced from Udine can be dated to 1488, which comes after the completion of the portion of the manuscript in which that paper type is found (fascicles II and VI in the original layer, dated 1487). A more likely candidate then, the Neapolitan paper with watermark B comes from 1476. See Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 2:291–92.

184 Ibid., 3:608, 611.

through XVII. It is not until watermark E (a crown within a circle), which is limited to a portion of the manuscript's final six-folio gathering, that we find a paper type that is unambiguously Neapolitan. Overall then, the watermark evidence reinforces the uncertainty of scholars like Fuller and, to some extent, Atlas regarding the manuscript's provenance. Both Rome and Naples (or other southern Italian locations) appear together again and again in the list of possible papers for each style of watermark. Yet, there are two modestly used paper types—one in the original layer and one in the later additions—for which the likelihood of a Neapolitan provenance seems uncontroversial: watermark B in fascicles II and VI; and watermark E in fascicle XVIII. While such limited evidence cannot be conclusive, it does add, when taken together with other aspects of the manuscript's structure and contents, one more piece to the puzzle, as Atlas has emphasized (see table III.24).

WM	Description	Fasc.	Briquet no. (dating/provenance)
A	Keys	I, VII, VIII, IX, X	Briquet no. 3861 (Palermo, 1484; Rome, 1484)
B	Crown	II, VI	Briquet no. 4777 (Udine, 1488; Naples, 1476)
C (1 and 2)	Bird (2 different variants)	II, III, IV, V, VII	Variants of bird watermark, closest to Briquet nos. 12149 (Rome, 1484) and 12151 (Rome, 1492–1500); according to Briquet, other variants of this central-southern Italian watermark have been found in Rome, 1475–81; Naples 1475–1501, Lucca, 1487; Venice, 1497; and Florence, 1505
D	Bird in circle	XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII	Most similar to Briquet nos. 12202 (Rome, 1479–80) and 12204 (Naples, 1494); other variants in this group come from Rome, 1482–84; Naples, 1482–95; Venice, 1482–97; and Catania, 1495
E	Crown in circle	XVIII	Most similar to Briquet nos. 4863 (Naples, 1486–96) or 4868 (Naples, 1562)
F	Anchor in circle with star and initials P. M.	XVIII	No exact match in Briquet; shape of anchor and star most similar to Briquet no. 488 (Florence, 1505–8), but this watermark lacks the initials P. M.[185]

Table III.23. Watermarks in Bologna Q 16.

185 In general, this watermark seems to be part of a group identified by Briquet (anchor inside a circle topped with a star) as numbers 477 through 532, which he claims was in frequent use by Venetian papermakers. See Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 1:40.

Fasc.	Folios	WM	Scribe	Structural features	Contents
I	1–11	A	1 (Mar.); 2?	Originally a sextern, one leaf cut out (fol. 12)	Latin treatise fragment (diff. hand); Index with scribal signature; French- and Italian-texted musical works
II	[12]–24	B, C1	1 (Mar.)	Complete sextern with an inserted leaf replacing fol. 12 cut from gathering I	French-, Italian-, and Spanish-texted musical works
III	25–36	C1, C2	1 (Mar.); 2	Complete sextern, intact	French- and Italian-texted musical works; Italian theoretical treatise (diff. hand)
IV	37–48	C2	1 (Mar.)	Complete sextern, intact	French-, Italian-, and Spanish-texted musical works
V	49–60	C1, C2	1 (Mar.)	Complete sextern, intact	French- and Italian-texted musical works
VI	61–72	B	1 (Mar.)	Complete sextern, intact	French-texted musical works
VII	73–86	A, C2	1 (Mar.); 5	Complete septern, intact except that the top of fol. 73 is cut out	French-, Italian-, and Spanish-, and Latin-texted musical works
VIII	87–98	A	1 (Mar.)	Complete sextern, intact	French-, Italian-, and Spanish-texted musical works
IX	99–110	A	1 (Mar.)	Complete sextern, intact	Almost entirely a *Missa l'homme armé* setting; also two French chansons
X	111–26	A	1 (Mar.)	Complete octern, intact	French- and Italian-texted musical works; scribe 1: "finis"
XI	127–30	D	2	Duernion made up of two intact bifolia	French- and Italian-texted musical works
XII	131–34	D	2	Duernion made up of two intact bifolia	French- and Italian-texted musical works
XIII	135–[37a]	D	2	Duernion made up of two intact bifolia	French- and Spanish-texted musical works

Table III.24. Fascicle Structure in Bologna Q 16.

Fasc.	Folios	WM	Scribe	Structural features	Contents
XIV	138–41	D	2	Duernion made up of two intact bifolia	French-, Italian-, and Spanish-texted musical works
XV	142–46	D	2	Five-folio gathering; originally a ternion, final outer leaf cut out	French-, Italian-, and Spanish-, and Latin-texted musical works
XVI	147–49	D	2; 3	Three-folio fascicle, originally a duernion but last folio was cut out	French- and Italian-texted pieces; Latin music treatise
XVII	150–51	D	2	Single bifolium, intact	Completion of Latin music treatise and "Recordare domine" (example)
XVIII	152–[55b]	E, F	4	Six-folio gathering; originally a quatern, but first two folios were cut	One French chanson ("Cochilie")

Table III.24 (*continued*).

Bologna Q 16's 156 folios are organized in eighteen fascicles, which can be divided into two main sections. Fascicles I through X—comprising eight sexterns, one septern, and one octern—make up the manuscript's original layer, copied and compiled by Marsilius and completed in 1487. Fascicles XI through XVIII, on the other hand, constitute later additions to Marsilius's work, which were most likely completed in the 1490s. Although, as Fuller has noted, there is repertorial continuity between the original layer (fols. 1–126) and these later additions (fols. 127–55), the added gatherings are structurally and visually distinct in that they are constructed from between two and six folios (compared with the twelve to sixteen folios of the original-layer gatherings) and the scribal style, which shifts among three of the collection's later hands, lacks the level of consistency found in Marsilius's hand. Given that scribe 2 is the main copyist for seven of the eight added fascicles, this tendency toward shorter gatherings—exemplified, in particular, by the single bifolium of gathering XVII—may have been based on his own compilation style. Yet, even with this difference in gathering structure, the paper itself is treated similarly throughout: it is first dry-ruled with a writing space of approximately 10 × 18 cm and then prepared, using a single-stave rastrum, with seven staves per page. The only fascicle that does not follow this style of paper treatment is XVIII, which is unique in its paper types, scribal hand, and complete lack of dry-ruling or pre-drawn staves. Fascicle XVIII can, thus, be considered the last material addition to the collection, made in haste and without pre-planning.

Taken as a whole, the manuscript can thus be considered the work of two scribe-compilers (Marsilius/scribe 1 and scribe 2[186]), responsible for both copying and organizing their respective portions of the codex, and three other scribes (scribes 3, 4, and 5), who made modest additions later within a preexisting structure. The collection's mix of international repertories is spread evenly throughout with no significant concentrations of any one genre or style found within a single gathering.[187] In the original layer, Marsilius tracks the musical corpus he copies within the opening index by listing each work's incipit first alphabetically and then in order of appearance in the collection. In copying his portion of the codex, scribe 2 makes additions to the index as well, but not as consistently as Marsilius. Both main sections of the manuscript—copied by Marsilius and scribe 2 respectively—present a mixed collection of secular song (and one mass setting) in a modest, yet carefully organized manner. As Fuller has also emphasized, there are no elaborate decorations beyond the use of calligraphic initials. This, in addition to the discreet size and material quality of the codex, points to a more practical function—either as a memory aid for performance or as a personal collection meant to preserve and memorialize the popular musical repertories of the day for a small community of users or, perhaps even more likely, both.[188]

The additions made in the blank spaces left by Marsilius and scribe 2 further reinforce this idea. As shown in table III.25, with each addition to the musical collection, we witness a cumulative process of scribal intervention in which each new scribe builds upon the work of the previous one. In scribe 2's rather substantial intervention, for example, the added repertory enhances the preexisting musical corpus considerably, and the two brief theoretical texts provide a helpful pedagogical apparatus for any reader who may be less conversant in the rules of musical composition and notation. Then, with the subsequent additions from scribes 3 through 5, we see only brief interventions that supplement the existing repertory with additional songs of a similar character.

While these added songs may very likely have been used in performance contexts, I would argue that their inclusion in Bologna Q 16 also functioned to enhance the manuscript's varied and dynamic song collection—one that reflected the musical

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186 Fuller has interpreted the section copied by scribe 2 (fols. 127r–147r) as the work of two different scribes due to some minor variations in the size of notes and other features, but I believe these differences result from issues of writing space and length of text rather than a shift in copyist. In addition, I have found similarities throughout this section in the shape of custodes, mensuration signs, and clefs that indicate a single scribe throughout. For Fuller's scribal analysis, see Fuller, "Additional Notes," 84–85.

187 The major exception to this is the anonymous *l'homme armé* mass setting found in fascicle IX, but even here Marsilius includes two French chansons in the space left following his transcription of the mass.

188 See Fuller, "Additional Notes," 93–94.

practices and tastes of its owner(s). Given that the verso side of its first numbered leaf (fol. IV) preserves a coat of arms, the manuscript appears to have been created for, or at the very least acquired by, a noble patron (see figure III.25). Francesco Novati claimed that this heraldic symbol belongs to the Bolognese de' Marsili family in the appendix to an article on the *caccia* from 1907, but provided no specific source for this information beyond the advice of "dott. Ezio Levi."[189] Edward Pease also mentions this claim in his article examining the *caccia* in Bologna Q 16, but somehow interprets Novati's identification to indicate the de' Marsili of Florence rather than Bologna.[190] Based on my research, however, the various arms of both the Florentine and Bolognese de' Marsili families do not match the one found in Bologna Q 16, thus making this identification erroneous in either case.[191]

Furthermore, the leaf upon which this coat of arms appears is unlike any other in the manuscript. The paper itself has been severely damaged, lacks a discernible watermark, and has been pasted into the front of fascicle I to keep it in place. It is impossible to know with certainty whether it became detached due to the physical damage it endured or was a later insertion, but there are three additional factors that separate this leaf from those that follow: first, with a horizontal grain, the paper from this leaf does not match that of the rest of the fascicle (which clearly displays watermark A and has a vertical grain); second, if it were at one point a complete bifolium within fascicle I, the corresponding leaf at the end of the gathering has also been cut out or lost; and third, the scribal hand for the fragmentary Latin text above the heraldic symbols on folio IV does not match that of Marsilius (who is responsible for the rest of fascicle I). It does resemble the hand of scribe 2, but there is not enough clearly visible text to be certain of this either. Based on this evidence, I believe it is unlikely that this fragmentary leaf is original to fascicle I. Rather, I suggest that it was added in by an aristocratic owner who acquired the manuscript after part or all of it was completed.

If the fragmentary Latin text was in fact added by scribe 2, as seems likely, we could posit that the acquisition took place at the time that scribe 2 took over the compilation process, connecting the repertorial and pedagogical additions by that scribe to the preferences and needs of a specific noble patron. If not, we can only assume that the manuscript appealed to its eventual aristocratic owner in a form quite close to what it looks like today. Regardless of the specific circumstances, with a mix of song

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189 Novati, "Contributi alla storia," 317, n. 3.

190 Pease, "A Re-Examination of the Caccia," 232, n. 3.

191 The arms of the Bologna de' Marsili depict a silver tower against a blue background with a crenellated wall behind it, while the arms of the Florentine de' Marsili depict six silver roses in a circle against a red background. In contrast, the heraldic symbol on folio IV of Bologna Q 16 depicts a simple diamond-patterned shield with no other discerning features (see figure III.25). See Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, 2:87–88; and, on the Florentine family in particular, Marchi, *I Blasoni delle famiglie toscane*, 13, 97, 374.
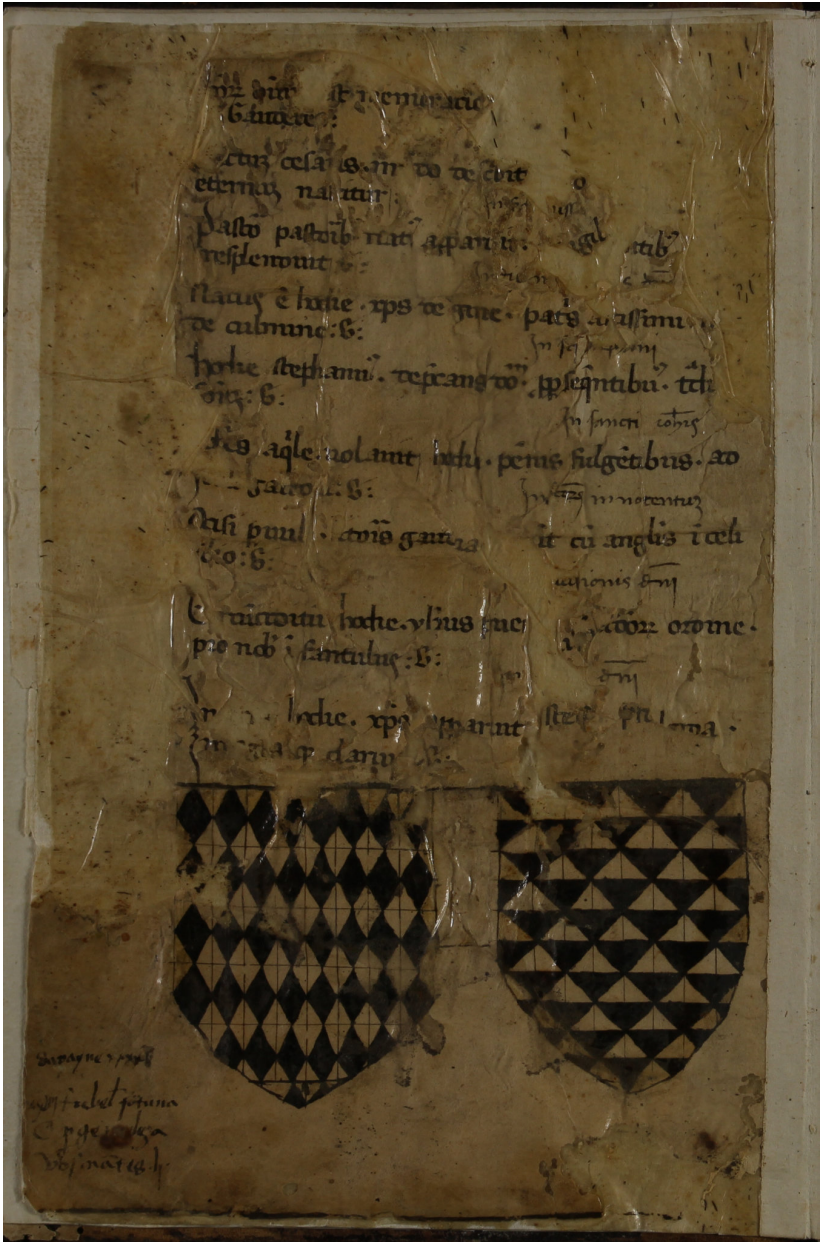
Figure III.25. Coat of arms in Bologna Q 16, fol. 1v.

Scribe	Type of intervention	Items copied
1 (Mar.)	Copyist and compiler of the original layer (fols. 2r–29v, 30v–126v)	Index, main musical corpus of 107 pieces (56 of which are unica) including: an international (French, Spanish, and Italian) song repertory and an anonymous *l'homme armé* mass setting
2	Copyist and compiler of the main layer of additions (fols. 127r–147r, 148v–151v) and one major addition to Marsilius's original layer (fol. 30r)	Added musical corpus of 20 of the most popular French-, Spanish-, and Italian-texted song settings of the day (complement to the main corpus copied by Marsilius); and two short music treatises (one in Italian and one in Latin)
3	Adds one song in the empty space left by scribe 2 on fols. 147v–148r	One Italian-texted song: "Con gran disdigno"
4	Copies one new song on an added fascicle XVIII (after scribe 2's work is complete) on fols. 152v–153r	One French-texted song: "Cochilie"
5	Adds one song in the empty space left by Marsilius at the bottom of fol. 74v	One Italian-texted song: "Si dio scendess' in terra"

Table III.25. Cumulative process of scribal intervention in Bologna Q 16.

and dance repertories and two pedagogical texts to guide the amateur musician, the collection clearly fulfills the needs of an aristocratic reader or performer. Such a book could easily have been produced at or for a baronial court in the Kingdom of Naples, perhaps somewhere in the provincial lands between Naples and Rome. An in-depth look at the collection's Italian-texted song repertory—distributed evenly throughout the codex—further enriches this possibility.

Italian-Texted Song in Bologna Q 16

Among Bologna Q 16's mixed song repertory, we find twenty-four Italian-texted works. This small but significant group of songs has several unusual characteristics compared to the songs transmitted in the other three Neapolitan music manuscripts discussed previously in this chapter. First of all, the Italian-texted corpus in Bologna Q 16 also has the highest number of undetermined lyric genres of any other collection—seventeen out of the total twenty-four.[192] This generic

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192 For a full list, see table B.4 in appendix B.

uncertainty is due in large part to the tendency toward incomplete texts throughout the collection. Indeed, only three pieces in the entire codex are texted, all of which are later additions to the original layer: "Si dio scendesse in terra me dicesse," "Alla cacza, alla cacza," and "Recordare domine."[193] This near-complete lack of lyric texts is particularly striking in comparison with the approach to preserving texts in the previous three manuscripts. Although full texts are not consistently provided in Montecassino 871, for example, it is clear that the scribe for that collection does include them when they are available to him. In Perugia 431, not every scribe seems to have access to full texts, which are often added in later in the collaborative process of scribal intervention typical of that collection. And in Seville-Paris, as I have discussed at length, great care is taken by each scribe not only to preserve full lyric texts for each work, but also to underlay those texts properly with the music and to include any residual verses in whatever space remains after the full musical setting has been copied. Thus, while there are certainly other examples of late-fifteenth-century music manuscripts that provide only text incipits for each musical composition they preserve,[194] this particular characteristic is by no means the norm in collections connected to Naples.

This may be, as Fuller has suggested, due to the fact that many of these works were intended for instrumental performance, even if they once originated as lyric song settings to be performed vocally. Certainly a few of them—such as the polyphonic *bassa danza* "La bassa castyglia" (also transmitted in Perugia 431 as "Falla con misuras")—were intended to be performed in dance contexts. Others, however, are not so clear-cut in their purpose or even origin. "I siderj vostri"[195] (fols. 87v–88r), for example, is a three-voice contrapuntal work that can be divided into two main sections, the first ending with a notated point of congruence on D and the second reaching the work's final cadence on G. The song's overarching binary structure and Italian incipit initially seem typical of what one might find in a *strambotto* setting; however, the level and complexity of the ornamentation, which gradually builds up over the course of each main section, stands out against the more straightforward polyphonic *strambotto* settings found in other Neapolitan manuscripts.[196] Of course, such an abundance of ornamentation does not preclude the possibility of vocal performance, but in its complex contrapuntal setting it does reveal a much stronger connection to written compositional practices than what is typically found in other examples of Neapolitan lyric song.

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193 Fuller also makes note of the lack of full texts in the codex as one more piece of evidence in favor of considering the repertory in Bologna Q 16 to be instrumental. See Fuller, "Additional Notes," 93.

194 One example, which has some significant similarities to Bologna Q 16, is the chansonnier compiled for the betrothal of Isabella d'Este to Francesco Gonzaga (ca. 1480): RCas. See ibid., 96–97. For an edition of this manuscript, see Lockwood, *A Ferrarese Chansonnier*.

195 The word "siderj" in this incipit is almost certainly a truncated version of "desideri."

196 See example D.2 in appendix D for a full transcription of this song.

Whether or not this song (and others like it) can be assigned a definitive lyric genre, it is clear that a very different compositional process is at work here—one that is more typical of the Franco-Flemish chanson than the Neapolitan *strambotto*.[197] In fact, in certain cases—such as "Terribile fortuna," which is transmitted as the *virelai* "M'a vostre cueur mis en oubli" and attributed to Busnoys in other sources—an Italian incipit has been applied to a song that was originally Franco-Flemish.[198] In addition to their highly contrapuntal styles, several of the works include thematic titles (rather than lyric incipits) more suited to untexted instrumental performance, such as "La Martinella," "La Taurina," and "La bassa castyglia." It comes as no surprise, then, that—in contrast to the Italian-texted repertories in Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, and Seville-Paris—only one song in this collection has its text preserved in a Neapolitan lyric manuscript: the *strambotto siciliano* "Sera nel cor mio doglia et tormento" (fol. 127r) added to the collection by scribe 2.[199]

Indeed, this *strambotto* setting is one of only two Italian-texted songs in Bologna Q 16 that clearly represents a genre typical of the Neapolitan lyric tradition; the other, another later addition by scribe 5, is the *strambotto toscano* "Si dio sscendess' in terra me dicesse." It is striking that both of these more typical *strambotti*—anomalous in both style and genre—were included in the collection only after the original layer was compiled. In the case of the widely disseminated "Sera nel cor mio," the addition appears as part of scribe 2's overarching focus on the most popular songs of the day.[200] In contrast, both the text and music for "Si dio sscendess' in terra" is unique to Bologna Q 16. "Si dio sscendess' in terra" is certainly the latest addition to the manuscript, so I cannot conjecture on the exact circumstances in which it was copied. What I can say, in the context of the present discussion, is that its visual layout in the codex suggests an effort to preserve and remember, rather than to present and memorialize (see figure III.26). On folio 74r, scribe 5 copies all four voices of the *strambotto* setting in an inconsistent and sloppy hand in the empty space left after Marsilius's transcription of the tenor part for "La bassa castiglya."

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197 Other songs in Bologna Q 16 with this mix of binary form and complex contrapuntal texture are: "Per la absencia," "Mirando l'ochy de costeyi," "Fo qui pronare amore," "Per la goula," "Lassare amore," "O generosa," "De placebo la vita mia," and "Con gran disdigno." See table B.4 in appendix B for details on the placement of these songs in Bologna Q 16.

198 Bologna Q 16 is the only manuscript in which this chanson appears with an Italian incipit. The sources that preserve it with its original French text include: Seville-Paris, Cop, Dij, F229, FR2794, Lab, RCas.

199 As I will discuss in part V, this song is the only one to appear in all four Neapolitan music manuscripts of the late Quattrocento. The literary manuscripts that preserve its text are Riccardiana 2752 and Vaticano latino 11255.

200 These included some of the most popular songs from French, Spanish, and Italian traditions, such as: "De tous biens plaine," "Nunca fu pena maior," and "Fortuna desperata."

Figure III.26. "Si dio sscendess' in terra me dicesse," Bologna Q 16, fol. 74r.

Although the majority of the musical works in Bologna Q 16 (Italian-texted and otherwise) are copied in a spacious choirbook format, "Si dio sscendess' in terra" is among the few copied in compact choirbook—a result, certainly, of its status as a later addition and its general brevity as a musical composition. Scribe 5's hand appears hasty and untrained, but nonetheless preserves the full piece, including both music and text, in the space allotted. In this way, it very much resembles the efficient visual presentation of the *strambotto* settings in Montecassino 871. Copies of this nature seem to function as memorial tools to be referenced as an aid to either performance or reminiscence; their significance lies in the information they transmit, rather than the impression they may make on the page. The addition of "Si dio scendess' in terra" appears to have occurred much later in Bologna Q 16's compilation history, but its inclusion hints at a potential context for its use. Whoever owned the manuscript may have copied the *strambotto* setting to represent a performance they witnessed or, indeed, one that they themselves gave.

Returning to the earlier layers of the collection, the Italian-texted works in Bologna Q 16 are generally treated as equal to other repertories throughout the codex. As shown in table III.26, these songs are distributed relatively evenly among the fascicles rather than appearing in a few concentrated groupings, as in the three manuscripts discussed earlier.

Fasc.	No. of songs	Fasc.	No. of songs
I	1	X	4
II	1	XI	1
III	2	XII	1
IV	2	XIV	1
V	1	XV	1
VII	5.5 (one song copied across the divide between fascicles VII and VIII)	XVI	1
VIII	2.5		

Table III.26. Distribution of Italian-texted song in Bologna Q 16.

As previously mentioned, these works are typically copied in choirbook format with plenty of space left for large calligraphic initials and lettering for the "Tenor" voice-part indication in each work. In Marsilius's original layer, in particular, each song is given a simple text incipit with no residual text underlaid with the music or in the margins. Later additions take a similar approach with the few significant exceptions previously mentioned.

Most notable among these is the four-voice homophonic *caccia* setting added by scribe 2 on folios 143v to 144r (fascicle XV), which includes a repetitive and seemingly corrupt text underlaid haphazardly below the Cantus part (see figure III.27). The choice to include text underlay here was clearly made after the music was copied, it would seem, by a later scribe. Indeed, scribe 2's precise, angular noteshapes could not be more different from the sloppy cursive script of the accompanying text. And yet, this later attempt to provide lyrics results in what must be only a fragment of the original song. A full, diplomatic transcription of the text underlay reads as follows:

Alla cacza . Alla cacza .	To the hunt, to the hunt
te te te te te te	Hold, hold, hold . . .
sona sona sona sona sona forte	Play, play, play . . . loud
chiama chiama chiama chiama chiama chiama	Call, call, call, call, call . . .
Li cani datj intorno te Jordano	The dogs from around [here]
te Jordano te te falcone :	Hold Jordano, hold, hold Falcone
Veni ad me Veni ad me	Come to me, Come to me

Figure III.27. "Alla cacza, alla cacza" (Cantus part), Bologna Q 16, fol. 143v.

Given the nature of what is preserved, one wonders why the choice was made to include text here at all—especially as a later addition. Indeed, the text of Bologna Q 16's *caccia* seems unusually repetitive and even fragmentary compared with that of a similar *caccia* preserved in Seville-Paris:[201]

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201 "A la chaza a la chaza," Seville-Paris, fols. *Sev*32v–34r (d8v–d10r).

A la chaza ala chaza	To the hunt, to the hunt
su su su su ognum si spaza	Onwards, on, on, on . . .
A questa nostra chaza	To this, our hunt
venite volentieri	Come as you will
con brachi e cun leurieri	With pointers and greyhounds.
chi vol venir si spaza	Whoever wants to come, take off;
non aspectar el zorno	Do not wait for daybreak.
la lepra sta qui intorno	The hare is around here;
li chan sente la traza	The dogs sniff the scent.
Sona el corno ocapo di chaza	The horn sounds to start the hunt.
si spaza spaza spaza	Take off, take off, take off.
Te qui balzan te qui liom	You here, Balzan; you here, Liom;
te qui fasam te qui falcon	you here, Fasam; you here, Falcon;
te qui tristan te qui pizon	you here, Tristan; you here, Pizon;
te qui alan te qui carbon	you here, Alan; you here, Carbon.
chiama li brachi del monte babion	Call the hunting dogs from mount Babion(?)!
te qui pizolo te qui spagnolo	You here, Pizolo; you here, Spagnolo.
habi bonochio al bon capriolo	Keep a close eye on the fine stag
A te augustino a te spagnolo a te	To you, Augustino; to you, Spagnolo, to you
vidila vidila vidila vidila vidila vidila	See it, see it, see it, see it, see it, see it
a quella a quella pilgiala	To that one, to that one, take it
che licani non la straza	Before the dogs tear it apart.

To be clear, the *caccia* in Seville-Paris is not the same piece as the one that appears in Bologna Q 16. The two pieces differ in both text, as shown above, and music.[202] Seville-Paris's *caccia* is a much longer composition with both *prima* and *secunda partes* setting each of the two full stanzas of text. And within each major section (*prima* or *secunda*), the texture, melodic style, and meter regularly shift based on the declamatory needs of the text. In contrast, the *caccia* in Bologna Q 16 is much shorter and maintains the same meter and musical style throughout. Furthermore, the *caccia* in Bologna Q 16 is a unicum, while the one in Seville-Paris appears to have had a wide dissemination with different versions of the song in both music and literary manuscripts.[203]

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202 For a full modern transcription of each song, see examples D.3 and D.4 in appendix D.

203 The notated song setting of "A la chaza a la chaza" in Seville-Paris also has concordances in the following music manuscripts: Paris 676, fols. 63v–65r; FN Panciatichi 27, fols. 43v–45r; Florence BR 337, fols. 80v–81r (B only); Leipzig 1494, fols. 247v–248v. Various versions of the text for "A la chaza a la chaza" appear without a musical setting in some early sixteenth-century sources: *Lamento de una giovinetta*, fols. A3v–A4r (with copies in Florence, BNCF, Palatino E.6.5.3 II/21; Chantilly, Biblithèque du Musée Condé, XI.G.62; and London, British Library, C.20.c.22/7); the manuscript anthology of Giannozzo Salviati, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. II.IX.42, fols. 82v–83v; and the "Canzone della caccia" in *Operetta de uno che finge avere cercato*, with editions from Rome: Giovanni Battista Carminate, 1512 (Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 6.3.29 [4], fol. a1v), Rome: n.p., 1515 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res. 40

Despite these differences, however, the general character of the two works is more or less the same. Both are four-voice homophonic settings of a popular hunting song, both feature patter-like rhythms and extensive pitch repetition; and both are in the mode of G mixolydian. Even the text hastily copied into the Cantus part of the caccia in Bologna Q 16 resembles that of Seville-Paris in its main points of vocabulary and narrative—focusing on the call to the hunt ("Alla cacza" / "A la chaza"), on playing the hunting horn ("sona sona sona . . ." / "Sona el corno . . ."), on calling the dogs ("chiama chiama . . . li cani" / "chiama li brachi . . ."), etc. Thus, while there is no denying that these two songs are clearly different, they seem to draw upon a common point of origin—one that was certainly performed and transmitted orally long before it made its way onto the pages of chansonnier-style manuscripts like Seville-Paris and Bologna Q 16.[204] In both manuscripts, a clear effort is made to copy the music with precision and completeness. Yet, in Bologna Q 16, the accompanying lyrics are not given the same level of attention, instead appearing as the afterthought of a later scribe. So how and why did these lyrics come to be copied into the *caccia* setting in Bologna Q 16? Similar to the case of "Si dio sscendess' in terra," I would posit that they were added in an effort to preserve a version of the work that was as complete as possible, perhaps replicating a common experience of the song performed vocally among users of the manuscript. Furthermore, given the unsystematic way in which these lyrics appear beneath the Cantus part, I believe that they were copied into the musical setting based on the memory of a performance rather than from a written exemplar. Indeed, even in their fragmentary state, they take on a synecdochic function—almost as a memorial cue—for what could be a fuller *caccia* text.

Thus connected to dance, hunting, and lyric performance with elements of both written and oral music traditions, the Italian-texted repertory in Bologna Q 16 mirrors the aristocratic perspective present throughout the collection. With each layer of copying, that perspective is enriched to reveal what were likely the typical musical experiences for the manuscript's owner(s). We cannot know with certainty if this manuscript was created for or owned by an aristocratic family specifically within the Kingdom of Naples, but one cannot deny that its particular mix of French, Spanish, and Italian song and dance music seems to echo the experiences of the southern Italian humanists Tristano Caracciolo and Galateo, as well as others like them, discussed in part II. This consideration combined with the physical codicological evidence related to paper types and fascicle structure discussed earlier seems to point more heavily toward Naples than Rome.

P. o. it. 331/4, fols. 3v–4r), and Rome: Domenico detto il Venezianello, 1521 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 1091 [*olim* Res. 40 P. o. it. 2509/1], fol. 3v). For transcriptions of these various versions, as well as critical commentary, see Filocamo, *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi 27*, 414–18.

204 In this way, they could be part of an "allographic" web of performances, as discussed in Goehr, "Three Blind Mice." See my discussion of this concept in part I.

Among the Neapolitan music manuscripts under investigation, Bologna Q 16 is unique in its strong focus on carefully composed, contrapuntal works and its limited connection to Neapolitan lyric genres and sources, especially in the manuscript's original layer. Yet, that connection is still present—albeit barely—in the two *strambotto* settings added after 1487 by later scribes. With this manuscript, then, we see first and foremost a prioritization of written compositional practices over oral performance and improvisation. But hints of orality nonetheless shine through in some of the collection's later additions. Mixing together French-style chansons with Italian text incipits, polyphonic settings of dance tunes, popular Italian *strambotti*, and even a four-voice *caccia* setting, the twenty-four songs in Bologna Q 16's Italian-texted repertory epitomize the clash between written and oral musical practices in late-Quattrocento Naples.

Conclusion

The four music manuscripts under investigation here reveal several different approaches to the preservation of Italian-texted song. With a single scribe-compiler, Montecassino 871 appears to be a personal collection meant to preserve songs informally or "casual[ly]" as a means of remembering them.[205] Perugia 431, on the other hand, was compiled by a large collaborative group of scribes, often making revisions or additions along the way, to preserve the complete music and text for an impressive corpus of Italian-texted songs. In Seville-Paris, we find a much smaller group of scribes who took a more organized approach in carefully transcribing the full music and text for Italian-texted works, even going so far as to utilize a specific *impaginazione* for the *strambotto* genre. Finally, Bologna Q 16 began as the work of a single scribe in which Italian-texted works appear undifferentiated from the collection's larger international song repertory, but in later additions, genres more closely tied to the Neapolitan lyric tradition are copied less formally in haphazard and condensed layouts that seem closer to those of Montecassino 871.

The stark differences among these four sources demonstrate the various ways in which musical settings of Neapolitan lyric navigated the complexities of the written medium. There are, as is to be expected, also many similarities. With the obvious exception of Bologna Q 16, the most common layout among Italian-texted songs—regardless of genre—is compact choirbook, and there is typically some effort made to include text underlay for the Cantus voice in particular. Even in the limited space such pieces are typically allotted, the preservation of both music and text together appears to be a priority. Furthermore, in all four manuscripts, we find a general lack of composer or poet attributions. Indeed, out of a total of 106 Italian-

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205 See my discussion of Montecassino 871 above. Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 12.

texted songs, only ten are given attributions in the manuscript sources that preserve them.[206] This preponderance of unattributed compositions is by no means unexpected: in fact, the tendency manifests itself in the lyric texts of Neapolitan literary collections as well.[207] As discussed in part II, the majority of this repertory originates in an oral context that prioritizes communal and collaborative improvisation and performance over individual creative practices and authorship; therefore, a given song could have multiple authors or none at all, making it impractical to attribute authorship to any single person.[208] As I will discuss in part V, the Italian-texted repertories in all four manuscripts also have an unusually high number of unica, demonstrating the limited diffusion these works had in the written medium.

Finally, three of the four manuscripts (Perugia 431, Seville-Paris, and Bologna Q 16) preserve short pedagogically oriented music theory texts that appear to have been copied around the same time as the main musical corpus, or shortly thereafter. In each case, these texts provide basic information that a trained musician would already know, including instructions on reading and writing mensural notation, singing from the Guidonian hand, and understanding the modes. Such texts could only have been aimed at an amateur musician reading and performing from, or even adding to, the manuscript at hand. In other words, this is the kind of information needed to read and copy down one's own songs, as Fronimo did in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* while Ergasto was singing. Perhaps then, as I suggested at the opening of this chapter, Fronimo's *ingeniosità* was based on his understanding of music notation and his ability to read and write in a musical language that would have been foreign to most others who performed Neapolitan lyric. We cannot be certain, of course, but it is unlikely—even in the fictional world of *Arcadia*—that only one of the shepherds would have the ability to write down a lyric text. More likely, the ability to write both text and melody together is what set Fronimo apart from his companions and what made him the perfect scribe to preserve and memorialize Ergasto's song. In transmitting the musical settings for a corpus of 106 Italian-texted songs, the music manuscripts discussed fulfill a similar function. In their different ways, they constitute a fixed memorial archive of a varied and flexible oral repertory.

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206 See repertoire census in appendix A for a full list of song attributions.

207 See part IV.

208 Atlas has even discussed this issue in the context of conflicting attributions in the French chanson repertory. See Atlas, "Conflicting Attributions in Italian Sources."

Part IV

Neapolitan Song in the Literary Manuscript Anthologies of the 1460s to 1490s

Introduction

In the previous part, I addressed the various ways in which polyphonic musical settings of Italian lyric texts were preserved in Neapolitan music manuscripts from the last decades of the fifteenth century. The 106 notated musical texts in these sources tell us a great deal about how and why polyphonic settings of these songs entered the written medium as well as how those works fit into sources that were more suited to the transmission of other, very different repertories. Compared to the wide-ranging body of Neapolitan lyric texts that survive in contemporary manuscript collections of lyric poetry, however, this written musical corpus is revealed to be a mere fragment of what was quite clearly a much larger oral tradition.

As discussed in part II, singing lyric poetry in Aragonese Naples was a practice that spanned multiple levels of aristocratic and court culture. From the improvised performances of humanist poet-singers, like Serafino Aquilano and Benedetto Gareth, to the lyric creativity of Neapolitan barons and aristocrats, like Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro and Francesco Galeota, the varied strains of Neapolitan song created a complex oral tapestry of popular melodies, which often intermingled with other musical and literary traditions more rooted in written culture.[1] As a result, many of the manuscript sources from late Quattrocento Naples embody a state of what Paul Zumthor has called "mixed orality" in which both oral and written practices coexist and exert their influence in different ways.[2] As testaments to this oral-literate culture, the three major literary anthologies of Neapolitan lyric produced from the late 1460s to the early 1490s reveal an expansive image of the poetic parameters of vernacular song that goes beyond what musical sources transmit (see table III.2 on page 121): Paris 1035, Vaticano latino 10656, and Riccardiana 2752.[3]

Taken together, these three manuscripts preserve approximately 750 poetic texts, which paint a vibrant picture of the Neapolitan lyric tradition over the course of several decades. To varying degrees, they each preserve examples of Neapolitan vernacular, as well as popular idioms and proverbs, and reflect a connection to oral performance and composition in the formulaic patterns and popular genres that pervade their collections. In fact, a majority of the texts they transmit are

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1   For more on various aspects of the Neapolitan lyric tradition, see Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*; Santagata, *La lirica aragonese*. See also my discussion in part II.

2   Zumthor first introduced the term "oralité *mixte*" in Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix*, 8. See my discussion of this concept in part I. In addition, Blake Wilson has also discussed issues of "mixed orality" in numerous studies related to the Florentine *lauda* tradition, as well as Venetian *giustiniane* and the *canterino* tradition throughout the Italian peninsula. The term is most clearly defined, however, in the following essay: Wilson, "*Canterino* and *Improvvisatore*," 295.

3   Scholarship on Vaticano latino 10656 includes: Vattasso, "D'una preziosa silloge"; Bronzini, "Poesia popolare del periodo aragonese"; Bronzini, "Serventesi, barzellette e strambotti." Scholarship on Riccardiana 2752 is fairly limited, but the main study that discusses and catalogues it is Parenti, "'Antonio Carazolo desamato.'" For scholarship on Paris 1035, see discussion below.

strambotti and *barzellette*, two genres that demonstrate the flexibility of poetic form and formulaic phrase structure that are telltale signs of improvised song.[4] Compared with the heterogeneous music manuscripts discussed in part III, these collections are, without a doubt, more cohesive in content and structure. Yet, even in their homogeneity—preserving almost exclusively lyric poetry from a single cultural context—these sources nonetheless show stylistic and linguistic variety. Lyric poems in these collections range in linguistic register from popular-style drinking songs, *strambotti* and *barzellette* in a mixed Neapolitan vernacular to Tuscan-style sonnets, *capitoli*, and *canzoni* to a handful of Iberian-language *canciones*. In this way, they mirror the cultural and political complexities inherent to the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples in the late Quattrocento, but they also demonstrate the degree to which these complexities became embedded in local cultural practices like that of singing lyric poetry.

Of particular relevance to the practice of singing lyric, seventeen songs with notated musical settings in one or more of the four manuscripts discussed in part III are also found with text-only copies in surviving Neapolitan literary manuscripts.[5] The presence of these song texts in both literary and music manuscript sources is highly unusual, but also quite telling (see full list in table IV.1). As shown in table IV.1, these songs include eleven *strambotti*, four *barzellette*, one *ballata giustiniana*, and one drinking song of undetermined genre—thus representing a kind of cross-section of the larger Italian-texted song repertory preserved in Neapolitan music manuscripts.[6] In particular, then, among the seventeen texts in these collections with notated musical concordances, over half are *strambotti* and about a quarter are *barzellette*. In addition to being the two most common poetic genres

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4   By far the most common poetic form in the Neapolitan lyric tradition, the *strambotto* is an eight-line poetic stanza made up of four hendecasyllabic couplets with the rhyme scheme ABABABAB (Sicilian) or ABABABCC (Tuscan). Musical settings of Neapolitan *strambotti* usually consist of one large section with two main musical phrases, one for each line of a rhyming couplet. In performance, the full musical setting would be repeated four times in order to sing through the entire eight-line stanza. Another of the most popular poetic genres of the Quattrocento, the *barzelletta* has the same formal refrain structure as the *ballata*, but instead of using a mix of eleven- and seven-syllable lines, it is composed of solely eight-syllable lines (or *ottonari*) as follows: abba (*ripresa*), cdcd (*piedi*), deea (*volta*), (abba [*ripresa*]). This more complex refrain structure typically results in a ternary musical form with two main sections: the *prima pars* (or A section) repeated for the refrain and *volta* and the *secunda pars* (or B section) for the rhyming *piedi*. On these two song types, see my discussion in part V.

5   These literary manuscripts include primarily the three anthologies listed in table III.2 on page 121, but also several others: Cappon. 193 preserves an early redaction of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* in addition to several Neapolitan lyric texts; Modena α.M.7.32 and Naples BNN XVII.1 are both extant manuscript copies of the Neapolitan humanist and aristocrat Galeota's single-author *canzoniere*; and Vaticano latino 11255 is a miscellany manuscript preserving a significant group of Neapolitan lyric texts that was compiled and owned by Bernardo Grapelino, a servant of Matteo Maria Boiardo. For more on Vaticano latino 11255, in particular, see note 51 in part III.

6   On the full 106-song repertory, see part V.

Incipit	Genre	Author	Literary Mss	Music Mss
"Amore che t'[h]o facto io che me day guerra"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Vaticano latino 10656	Montecassino 871
"Amor tu non me gabasti"	*Barzelletta*	Anon.	Paris 1035	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
"Ben'è folle chi vole amare"	*Barzelletta*	Anon.	Vaticano latino 10656	Perugia 431
"Core volonteruso dura dura"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Paris 1035, Vaticano latino 10656	Montecassino 871
"In eternu voglio amare"	*Barzelletta*	Anon.	Cappon. 193	Perugia 431
"Io sento donne banda suspirare"	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)	Anon.	Vaticano latino 10656	Perugia 431
"La vita de colino non dura quatro iornj"	Undet.	Anon.	Paris 1035	Montecassino 871
"Lucello mio chiamo jo perdo jornata"	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)	F. Galeota	Modena α.M.7.32, Naples BNN XVII.1	Perugia 431
"O rosa bella, o dolce anima mia"	*Ballata*	L. Giustinian	Paris 1035	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris
"O tempo bono et chi me t'ha levato"	*Strambotto*	F. Galeota	Vaticano latino 10656, Modena α.M.7.32, Naples BNN XVII.1	Montecassino 871
"O vos homines qui transitis"	*Barzelletta*	Anon.	Paris 1035	Montecassino 871
"Quanto mi dolse la nigra (aliegra) partita"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Vaticano latino 11255 ("crudel")	Montecassino 871 ("nigra"), Seville-Paris ("aliegra")
"Se fosse certo che piu non se amasse"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Vaticano latino 10656	Perugia 431
"Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Riccardiana 2752, Vaticano latino 11255	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris, Bologna Q 16

Table IV.1. Lyric texts with musical settings in Neapolitan manuscripts.

Incipit	Genre	Author	Literary Mss	Music Mss
"Sospira cor mio poi che perdisti"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Vaticano latino 10656	Seville-Paris
"So' stato nelo inferno tanto tanto"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Vaticano latino 10656	Seville-Paris
"Un tempo che facea lo sacrificio"	*Strambotto*	Anon.	Vaticano latino 10656	Montecassino 871

Table IV.1 (*continued*).

in the Neapolitan lyric tradition, the *strambotto* and the *barzelletta* are also two genres of the late-fifteenth century that were typically performed musically. Yet, while the surviving musical settings of these particular poems leave little doubt of that fact, it is striking, and even frustrating, that so few of the Neapolitan lyric texts from late-Quattrocento manuscript sources are accompanied by such clear evidence of their musical performance history.

Nevertheless, this seeming paucity of documentation is more revealing than we might think. In a brief study on vernacular poetry in the musical tradition of Aragonese Naples, Gianluca D'Agostino has emphasized that, although there are surviving musical settings for a number of Neapolitan poems, there are no cases of "direct dependence" between literary sources and musical texts. In other words, the concordant texts have enough differences between them that one could not have been used as a written exemplar for the other. D'Agostino goes on to lament the dearth of documentary evidence, much of which was lost over the course of Naples's tumultuous and often violent history.[7] I would suggest, however, that our inability to trace a clear written path from one source to another is the result of a phenomenon that is simultaneously much more innocuous and much harder to define: that of oral transmission. The three literary manuscripts under investigation here are, at least in part, written records of an oral practice, and as such they preserve texts that were likely performed in Neapolitan musical and literary circles. As I will demonstrate in the case of Paris 1035, in particular, it is even possible to imagine the manuscript itself as a songbook from which a poet-singer could perform, the poems within it serving as memorial clues to their musical settings.[8]

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7   "Nello specifico dei testi da noi considerati, non si osservano casi di dipendenza diretta." D'Agostino, "'Più glie delectano canzone veneciane che francese,'" 70. On Naples's violent history see part II.

8   Memory is a fundamental issue to both improvised composition in performance and the written reconstruction and transmission of that composition. Scholarship on memory and its connection to literary and musical production includes Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 2nd ed.; Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*; Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*; Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*; among others. See part I.

Returning to table IV.1, as is typical of this repertory more generally, all of these songs are left unattributed in the three major Neapolitan anthologies—Paris 1035, Vaticano latino 10656, and Riccardiana 2752—and nearly all are of unknown authorship more generally with just two exceptions. First, two of the *strambotti* ("L'ucello mio" and "O tempo bono") can be attributed to the Neapolitan humanist and urban aristocrat Galeota, as they are included in the two extant manuscript copies of that author's *canzoniere* (Modena α.M.7.32 and Naples BNN XVII.1).[9] Second, the widely disseminated *ballata* "O rosa bella" has been ascribed to the early-Quattrocento Venetian statesman and poet Leonardo Giustinian through its inclusion in the print collection of his poetry, *Comincia el fiore de le elegantissime canzonete del nobile homo misier Lunardo Iustiniano*, published in thirteen editions from 1472 to 1518.[10] The anonymity of lyric texts in literary sources, like their musical counterparts, can thus be seen as the norm—except in the few cases in which the author's works were collated in single-author collections that survive to this day. In this way, written sources of Neapolitan lyric—with or without notated musical settings—reinforce the more community-oriented character and creative impulse of the tradition.

Furthermore, as I will discuss, the lyric songs preserved in both literary and music manuscripts are typically copied in the major anthologies of Neapolitan lyric with no special rubric or visual differentiation that might reveal their status as musical texts. Rather, the overall visual presentation of these and other lyric texts are relatively uniform throughout each collection. Much like the Neapolitan music manuscripts from this period, the paleographic and codicological features of these literary anthologies provide indispensable historical and aesthetic clues in understanding how and why these texts, many of which originated in oral performance contexts, were transcribed and transmitted in writing. The graphic features of these texts or, to borrow a phrase from Wayne Storey, their "visual poetics"—including elements of spacing, layout, rubrication, and decoration, as well as general readability on the page—mark their function and value as literary objects that may or may not stand in for a more vivid aural experience.[11] In this way, these lyric collections act not only as practical records of the local vernacular song tradition practiced among aristocratic circles throughout the Kingdom of Naples, but also, in different ways, as written testaments aimed at memorializing a valued cultural practice.

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9   Full citations for these two copies of Galeota's *canzoniere* are Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Ms. α.M.7.32 (It. 1168) and Naples, Biblioteca nazionale di Napoli, Ms. XVII.1.

10   See Pini, *Per l'edizione critica*, 419–22. On musical settings of Giustinian's song, see Fallows, "Leonardo Giustinian."

11   On the concept of "visual poetics," see the introduction to Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*, xxi–xxviii. For an example of this type of study in the field of musicology, see Jennings, *Senza Vestimenta*, 116–21.

As cohesive collections, the literary manuscripts Paris 1035, Vaticano latino 10656, and Riccardiana 2752 complement the more heterogeneous music manuscripts discussed in part III in two significant ways. First, they contextualize a significant group of songs with extant musical settings (listed in table IV.1) within a larger southern Italian cultural practice and consequently provide a wider selection of similar song texts for which musical settings either no longer survive or were never written down. Second, without the complicating factor of notated music, they rely on only one type of literacy and thus illustrate another, more widely accessible way in which orality and writing were connected in the performance and preservation of this repertory. In the present chapter, I seek to understand the lyric song tradition of the Kingdom of Naples, and the attempts made to preserve and memorialize it, through the lens of these literary sources. In particular, I conduct an in-depth case study of the earliest of these sources—Paris 1035—and the musical texts it transmits. In my analysis, I consider aspects of this manuscript's visual appearance, organization, and contents not just to ascertain its function and audience, but also to understand the oral-literate reality of the lyric tradition it represents. As I will demonstrate, this literary manuscript, together with the others, constitutes a self-conscious effort on the part of the Neapolitan nobility—both urban and rural—to preserve, legitimize, and even celebrate their own creative practices.

Paris 1035 (the "Cansonero napoletano")

On August 20, 1468, Giovanni Cantelmo, Count of Popoli in the Kingdom of Naples, wrote the following in a letter to his friend, the Neapolitan poet and aristocrat, Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro:

> And I will have all of those [promised songs] rewritten in my *cansonero* and I will have your rubric put with each of them, according to what you ask in your letter. As for coming there, I would have appeased you, but being beaten down as I am in this fight, I cannot by any means get away from it; please take up, therefore, my part of the pleasure together with these other gentlemen. In all else, I am, as always, at your disposal. In Naples, the 20th day of August 1468.

> Et quelle [canzone promesse] tucte farò rescrivere al mio cansonero et a ciascuna de quelle farrò ponere la robrica vostra, secundo domandate per vostra lectera. Del venire là, ve averia contentato, ma essendo io accopato in questo litigio,[12] non posso per niente intralassarlo; pigliarite adunque la parte mia del piacere insiemo con

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12   As Maria Corti has indicated in her edition of De Jennaro's writings, the "litigio" referenced here is most likely related to the granting of lands to Onofrio Cantelmo and his mother Bianca di Varano, Giovanni Cantelmo's uncle and grandmother. See Corti, *Rime e lettere*, 155. For a description of the dispute over these lands, see De Lellis, *Famiglie nobili del regno di Napoli*, 1:132. For more on the Cantelmo family in general, see Pontieri, "CANTELMO."

quìssi altrj signore. Non altro, so' sempre al vostro piacere. In Napoli, die XX de agusto MCCCCLXVIIJ.[13]

The *cansonero* to which Cantelmo refers is, indeed, an extant manuscript of Neapolitan poetry and letters originally produced in the late 1460s and currently held at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. This particular letter, copied at the end of that manuscript, reveals a great deal about both Cantelmo's approach in curating that collection and the larger social context surrounding its production. In it, he explains that the songs sent to him by De Jennaro will be recopied in his "cansonero," each with its proper rubric, and then goes on to apologize for not being able to attend what sounds like an aristocratic retreat at De Jennaro's country home: Rocca delle Fratte, in the diocese of Gaeta. Cantelmo thus alludes both to the written copying of texts in his songbook and to a potential context in which those songs might have been performed. In fact, in its reference to both written and oral aspects of his engagement with Neapolitan lyric, his letter acts as a rubric for the collection as a whole.

Cantelmo's *Cansonero napoletano* (Paris 1035), I argue, is a carefully constructed songbook with clear connections to the practice of singing lyric poetry within a vibrant community of poets from the Kingdom of Naples. In fact, a deeper analysis of this collection reveals a substantial body of Neapolitan songs that greatly exceeds the number of texts for which musical settings survive. As music scholars, our perspective is often skewed toward musical sources, even when investigating a primarily oral tradition like that of Neapolitan song; and yet, it is from literary sources like the *Cansonero napoletano* that we may construct the most vivid picture of that repertory and its performance practice.

Produced in the late 1460s under the patronage of Cantelmo, Count of Popoli and member of Naples' feudal aristocracy, the *Cansonero napoletano* is a small, yet carefully crafted book of lyric poetry and letters. It is made up of fifty-nine paper folios with a modern red leather binding and measures only 14 × 22 cm. The scribal hand is the same throughout the manuscript and is characterized by dark black ink, uniformly applied in a neat, rounded humanistic script. There is no illumination, except occasional marginal drawings that also appear to be by the main scribe. In addition, there is only one paper type throughout and the scribe has carefully

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13 Paris 1035, fols. 57v–58r. In this case and in others throughout this part, I have maintained a semi-diplomatic transcription policy, which seeks to maintain original spellings and orthography while expanding scribal abbreviations and adding only punctuation and accents where necessary to the meaning of the text. This letter and others written between De Jennaro and Cantelmo and preserved in Paris 1035 are also transcribed with editorial notes in Corti, *Rime e lettere*, 31–39. As is the case throughout this book, all translations and transcriptions in this chapter are mine unless noted otherwise.

written a catch word at the end of each of its eight fascicles,[14] demonstrating that the manuscript's contents were likely organized and compiled as a whole rather than in individually circulating fascicles.

The *Cansonero* is, therefore, modest in size and scope but precise in its planning and compilation. The manuscript's uniform materiality and presentation of contents demonstrate a singular vision in its conception and creation. For these reasons, it has attracted the attention of numerous literary scholars, as well as the occasional musicologist, beginning as early as the late-nineteenth century. The earliest studies were general descriptions and editions of the manuscript and its contents,[15] but by the second half of the twentieth century, literary historians, such as Antonio Altamura and Marco Santagata, took a great interest not just in the physical description of the codex, but in its linguistic and poetic content as well.[16] In particular, they have commented on the prevalent use throughout the collection of the *koiné napoletana*—a courtly fusion of Neapolitan vernacular, Latin, and Tuscan linguistic elements, which I discussed in part II as "napoletano misto."[17] In addition, musicologists Isabel Pope and Masakata Kanazawa have discussed the *Cansonero*'s Neapolitan character in their introduction to the edition of Montecassino 871, which preserves musical settings of five of the poems in Cantelmo's collection.[18] Literary scholar Maria Corti has further addressed the *Cansonero*'s role in the Neapolitan lyric tradition in her study of the works of Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro—one of the eight poets with attributions in the collection and Cantelmo's main correspondent.[19]

The collection's numerous poetic attributions and consistent use of the *koiné napoletana* attest to an active relationship of correspondence and patronage between Cantelmo and a number of native Neapolitan poets. As Count of Popoli,

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14 The overall fascicle structure is fairly consistent as well. Fascicles 2 through 7 are quinterns: 2, 4, 5, and 7 are intact and preserve all ten folios; 3 and 6 both have one leaf neatly cut out and thus preserve only nine folios each. Fascicles 1 and 8 are both ternions: 1 is fully intact with six folios, and 8 has one leaf cut out with five folios.

15 Early studies of Paris 1035 include a brief description of the manuscript in Marsand, *I manoscritti italiani*, 198 (no. 188); a description of the manuscript and its contents in Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani*, 2:234–46; and an edition of the manuscript contents in Mazzatinti and Ive, *Rimatori napoletani del Quattrocento*. There is also a brief description of the collection in the slightly more recent De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana*, 2:144.

16 See Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 14–17; Santagata, *La lirica aragonese*, 53, 100, 164, 251–53, 277–78, 377–78, 384–86, 389. See also my discussion of Giovanni Brancati's vernacular translation of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (ca. 1476–81) in part II.

17 Regarding the *koiné napoletana*, see in particular Vàrvaro, "*Koinè* nell'Italia meridionale"; Altamura, *La lirica napoletana*, 9–11.

18 Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 72–73.

19 Corti, *Rime e lettere*, xvi–xli. Corti also includes all of the poems and letters that are attributed or relevant to De Jennaro in the *Cansonero* as part of her edition: ibid., 1–40.

a territory in what is now modern-day Abruzzo, Cantelmo had an active interest in literature and music and made significant efforts to collect and preserve a variety of texts in his castle library. In fact, a catalogue of his collection compiled in 1494 describes an impressive library of thirty-four individual volumes, including at least sixteen books of vernacular poetry, as well as two books identified as "libri de musica."[20] The full list of books is as follows:[21]

In una cassa sonno linfrascritti libri.

Li sonettj e trionfi del petrarcha in carta bambacina ad stampa coperto de coiro russo:

unaltro libro chiamato la fiametta In carta pergamina scripto ad mano coperto de coiro cilestro:

unaltro libro chiamato lo mischino In carta bombacina coperto de coyro lionato consumato:

unaltro libretto picolo scripto ad mano In carta bambacina dove se tratta la istoria de dianora da firenza con lo lamento de pisa:[22]

Un altro libretto in carta bambacina ad stampa dele croniche de Napoli et fiore de virtù coperto de coyro lionato cupo:

unaltro libretto de canczone et sonetti in carta bambacina scripto ad mano:

unaltro libretto de petrj Iacobo de Jenaro In carta pergamina scripto ad mano de certe cose de amore coperto de coyro russo;[23]

unaltro libretto de carta de coyro scripto ad mano dela natura delj bagni de peczoli coperto de rosso;[24]

unaltro libretto de carta bambacina scripto ad mano de cose de amore:

Le epistole de Ovidio In carta bambacina;

uno Dante con lo commento ad stampa Intavolato:

uno libretto de mario appio In carta bambacina, scripto ad mano, coperto de coyro russo:

unaltro libretto chiamato lo burchiello:

unaltro libretto de carta de coyro, de lettera longobarda, di cose de ecclesia;

20 See De Frede, "Biblioteche e cultura," 192–93.

21 Originally preserved as an archival document in the Camera della Sommaria of the Archivio di Stato di Napoli (*Sommaria*, processi antichi, vol. 766, no. 8586), the inventory containing this list of books was destroyed as a result of the tragic bombing on August 4, 1943, during World War II. Prior to this event, however, it had fortunately already been transcribed and published in Faraglia, "La casa dei Conti Cantelmo," 19–20. Carlo De Frede has since reproduced it as well in his "Biblioteche e cultura," 192–93. My transcription here reproduces exactly how the inventory appears in Faraglia's 1900 publication.

22 According to Faraglia, this item is the *Novella di Lionora de' Bardi e Ippolito Buondelmonte*. See Faraglia, "La casa dei Conti Cantelmo," 19, n. 1. On this story and its various manuscript and print editions, see Crespi, "La *Commedia di Ippolito e Lionora*."

23 For a modern edition of De Jennaro's *Canzoniere*, see Corti, *Rime e lettere*.

24 This is likely a copy of the Neapolitan poem, entitled *I bagni di Pozzuoli*, held in Naples, Biblioteca nazionale di Napoli, Ms. XIII.C.37; or of the similar prose treatise, entitled *Trattato dei bagni di Pozzuoli*, which survives in a manuscript copy at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, Ms. 801, fols. 82, 84, 85–87. For a critical discussion and edition of these two versions of the text, see Pèrcopo, "I bagni di Pozzuoli."

uno sepontino In carta ad stampa coperto de camussio bianco;

Le vite de plutarcho In vulgare ad stampa coperto de coyro:

uno canzonero composto per lo Conte de populj de bambacino scripto ad mano:

Li sonetti del Petrarcha ad mano:

uno libro de cicco dascolj de bambacino scripto ad mano:

unaltro libretto de bambacino scripto ad mano de canczone:

uno libro de musica:

unaltro libretto de coyro sine titulo:

uno quaderno de croniche moderne:

unaltro libretto scripto ad mano in bambacino de certe canczone;

unaltro petrarcha scripto ad mano:

Dottrinale con lo commento ad mano:

unaltro libro de musica in bambacino:

unaltro burchiello picolino:

Almagesta de ptolomeo In pergamino ad mano:

unaltro libretto chiamato thesoro depoveri ad stampa:

uno libretto de spera:

uno officiale de carta pergamina coperto de viluto cilestro ad mano con due ziappette de argento Inaurato:

una carta de coyro ravogliata de elementis cosa grossa:

uno libro de croniche.[25]

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25   "In a trunk there are the following books: The sonnets and *trionfi* of Petrarch printed on paper [Carta Bombycina] and bound with red leather; another book called *La fiametta* handwritten on parchment and bound with light blue leather; another little book called *Lo mischino* on paper and bound with worn, reddish brown leather; another little book handwritten on paper, which treats the story of Dianora da Firenza and the lament of Pisa; another little book, printed on paper, of the chronicles of Naples and *Fiore de virtù* bound with dark reddish-brown leather; **another little book of *canzoni* and sonnets handwritten on paper**; another little book by Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro about certain amorous things, handwritten on parchment and bound with red leather; another little book about the nature of the baths of Pozzuoli [made] on animal skin [parchment] and bound with red [leather]; another little book handwritten on paper about amorous things; the letters of Ovid on paper; a printed Dante with commentary on wood boards; a little book on Marius Appius handwritten on paper and bound with red leather; another little book called *Lo Burchiello*; another little book on church-related things [written] in Lombardic lettering on animal skin [parchment]; a *Sepontino* [Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices*] printed on paper and bound with white suede; the Lives of Plutarch in vernacular, printed and bound with leather; **a *canzonero* made for the Count of Popoli out of paper and handwritten**; the sonnets of Petrarch, handwritten; a book of Cecco d'Ascoli on paper and handwritten; another little book of *canzoni*, handwritten on paper; a book of music; another little animal-skin [parchment] book without a title; a quire of modern chronicles; **another little book of certain *canzoni*, handwritten on paper**; another Petrarch, handwritten; a Doctrinal [book] with commentary, handwritten; **another book of music on paper**; another small *Burchiello*; Ptolemy's *Almagest* on parchment, handwritten; another little printed book called *Il Tesoro dei poveri* [*Thesaurus pauperum*]; a little book on hope; a handwritten [divine] office on parchment bound with light blue velvet with two gilded silver clasps; a [single] leaf covered in leather on the elements, large object; a book of chronicles." My translation (emphasis added).

This impressive inventory of books was taken on April 4, 1494, by a functionary of the Aragonese crown when King Alfonso II ordered that the property and riches belonging to the Cantelmo family be seized. Giovanni Cantelmo himself was a loyal proponent of the Aragonese crown, but after he died in 1479 he was succeeded by his son Restaino, who sided with French interests during King Alfonso II's battle for succession in 1494.[26] In retaliation for his disloyalty, Restaino Cantelmo suffered harsh consequences at the hands of the Aragonese royal family: he was arrested and imprisoned in the dungeons of the Castel Nuovo and, much like the fate of those involved in the *congiura dei baroni* a decade earlier, his land and estate were appropriated by the crown.[27] The books listed in the 1494 inventory, many of which attest to Giovanni Cantelmo's profound engagement with lyric poetry and song, were thus absorbed into the royal library. The inventory, then, exemplifies the Neapolitan aristocracy's cultural engagement and heritage, and yet, its very existence as part of the written history of this period is the result of a foreign ruler's usurpation of that heritage. Giovanni Cantelmo was able to amass this library as

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26 Neapolitan aristocrats found to be disloyal to the Aragonese crown in favor of the French were subjected to horrific punishment either at the hands of the royal family or even of the local populace. In fact, in Ferraiolo's *Cronaca della Napoli aragonese*, one such case is described in graphic detail: "Et a li VIIII del ditto mese d'agusto et ditto anno 1495 li nostre fante che stivano a Pizo Farcone, zoè sopra ad Echia, dettino uno assauto alli Francise che stevano alla Groce. Lo quale de li nostri gi fo morto lo figlio de Pere Ciancio, che era castigliano. Et in questo trovannose lo capitanio Sanazaro, che era castigliano, a San Pietro mortoro, sì se moppe uno remore con certe Taliane, lo quale fo tale remore che fo necessario de moverencie meza la terra. Et in ditto remore mòvese Lonardo de Bianco, che era gintilomo de Purto, et mettese a gridare 'Franza, Franza!'. Et ditto pupolo sentendo questo, subito le mano l'andò in dosso et alla giusticia lo menaro, perchè l'autre parte lo volevano ammazare. E la iusticia sì lo vòce avere in mano per da isso intennere che vole sennificare. E lo ditto popolo tuttavia sullicitava de quisto homo la iusticia volevano fare. Et lo martedì, che fo alli XI de ditto mese, la yusticia sì se fece, et in miezo lo Mercato lo collo sì le fo levato et hordinato la mandara collo scando tutta ad una giornata." Translation: "And on the ninth day of August in the year 1495, our foot soldiers, who were at Pizzofalcone (i.e., up on Mt. Echia) launched an assault on the French, who were stationed at the royal chapel of Santa Croce [in Piazza Plebiscito]. From this battle, one of our [soldiers] died: the son of Pere Ciancio, who was [on the] Castilian [side]. And in this [moment], the captain Sannazaro, who was [on the] Castilian [side], found himself at San Pietro Martire; thus, he moved toward a commotion with certain Italian women, and that commotion was so great that it caused the movements of half the earth. And in that commotion moved Lonardo de Bianco, who was a gentleman of Purto, and he began to scream 'France, France!' And the populace, hearing this, immediately grabbed him and brought him to justice, because the others wanted to kill him [on the spot]. And justice thus required that they have him at hand in order to learn from him what [his cries] meant. But the populace, nevertheless, demanded that they wanted to take [their own] justice upon this man. And that Tuesday, which was the eleventh of the month, that justice was thus done, and in the middle of the market he was relieved of his collar and ordered to place his neck upon the chopping block all in one day." Ferraiolo, *Una cronaca napoletana figurata*, 166–69 (facsimile of the original at 169). The original, unedited text can also be consulted in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 801, fol. 121v.

27 See De Frede, "Biblioteche e cultura," 191–92. For the full inventory of items confiscated from the Cantelmo castle in Popoli, see Faraglia, "La casa dei Conti Cantelmo," 21–33.

a testament to his musico-poetic interests and activities, insofar as he remained a loyal subject to the Aragonese crown. His son's ill-fated allegiance to the French led to its forfeiture.

Returning to the list itself, it is noteworthy that Cantelmo owned two books described as "de musica," which would certainly have contained music notation of some kind—whether in the context of a theoretical treatise or a collection of polyphony. In addition, there are four books described as either "de canczone" or "canzonero." Unlike the *libri de musica*, these books were probably quite similar to the manuscript under investigation at present (Paris 1035), preserving a variety of song texts without music notation in a format that could easily be used as a memory aid in performance. In particular, the "canzonero composto per lo Conte de populj de bambacino scripto ad mano" can most likely be identified with Paris 1035,[28] but Santagata has also proposed another manuscript, which has a more explicit dedication to Cantelmo ("Ad Joh[ann]em Canthelmu[m]") on the verso side of the last written leaf (fol. 158v): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1084.[29] Santagata's point is well taken given that Paris 1084—a collection of three *canzonieri* by Simone Serdini da Siena (*detto* il Saviozzo), Malatesta de' Malatesti, e Domizio Brocardo respectively—mentions Cantelmo directly as the manuscript's dedicatee in a way that Paris 1035 does not; however, there is no evidence that this manuscript was ever held in the Aragonese royal library. In contrast, Paris 1035—which is referred to as Cantelmo's "cansonero" in a more subtle way in the letter from Cantelmo to De Jennaro on folios 57v to 58r of that codex—bears a signature from the cataloguing system used in the Aragonese royal library and was thus clearly part of that collection at some point before making its way north to France. Both manuscripts are possible candidates then, but Paris 1035 seems to be the more likely option. In either case, the surviving sources serve to further underscore the prominence that Cantelmo clearly had as a patron and collector of vernacular lyric poetry.

Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Cantelmo was merely a collector of these works in written form, especially given the performative nature of Neapolitan lyric. Literary scholar Carlo De Frede has conjectured that Cantelmo himself was also a poet and that he and the other aristocratic poets represented in the *Cansonero* likely met in various urban and rural locations around the kingdom.[30] Cantelmo's own castle at Popoli would have been one such location, as would the pastoral abode of De Jennaro near Gaeta. Indeed, Cantelmo's letter to De Jennaro alludes to that precise possibility as he apologizes for not being able to take part in the "pleasure

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28 This is the hypothesis proposed as one possibility among many by De Frede, "Biblioteche e cultura," 197.

29 Santagata, "Un altro 'pezzo' della biblioteca."

30 De Frede, "Biblioteche e cultura," 191.

together with these other gentleman."[31] Although there is no documentary evidence describing what took place at these meetings, the *Cansonero napoletano* in and of itself points to a community that not only shared poetry through epistolary correspondence, but also very likely performed it together as an activity befitting the goals of learned aristocratic *otium*.[32]

The poems and letters in this collection thus exemplify Cantelmo's enthusiastic patronage of and participation in the creation of poetry and music and of Neapolitan poetry and music specifically. In fact, in every aspect of its contents and materiality, this manuscript reflects a thoroughly Neapolitan point of view. To begin with, the most prevalent genres in the collection are, as previously stated, those connected most closely with the Neapolitan lyric tradition: the *strambotto* and the *barzelletta*. In fact, among the collection's 144 poetic texts, there are seventy-two *strambotti* and forty-three *barzellette*, in addition to twenty sonnets, four *canzonette*, three Spanish *canciones*, one *ballata giustiniana*, and one drinking song.[33] The majority of these works address troubadour-style courtly love themes within the formulaic and familiar linguistic garb of the *koiné napoletana*, both typical characteristics of the regional style. In addition, many poems are thematically or even metrically interrelated. But there is also a handful of texts that diverge from this path and seem to act within the collection as representatives of other aspects of Naples's oral culture. This mixture of styles throughout the collection is perhaps most strongly exemplified by the five poems with surviving musical settings (listed in table IV.2 below).[34]

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31 Letter from Cantelmo to De Jennaro (August 20, 1468), Paris 1035, fol. 58r: "pigliarite adunque la parte mia del piacere insiemo con quìssi altrj signore." See above for a larger transcription from this letter.

32 A good starting point for identifying the members of this community would be the other authors with attributions included in the manuscript Paris 1035—Coletta di Amendolea, Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro, Francesco Galeota, Leonardo Lama, Cola de Monforte, Michele Richa, Francesco Spinelli, and Giovanni di Trocculi—all of whom were Neapolitan aristocrats and/or functionaries of the King of Naples. For more on these figures in the context of Paris 1035, see De Frede, "Biblioteche e cultura," 190–91; Rovira, "El *Cansonero del Conte di Popoli*," 57–96.

33 My numbers here differ slightly from those in the most recent edition of the manuscript by Manuel Gil Rovira ("El *Cansonero del Conte di Popoli*") because Rovira considers the thematically related *barzelletta-strambotto* pairings to be a single poetic entity, while I prefer to think of them as separate texts. Rovira thus counts 112 poems, rather than 144, because thirty-two of the seventy-two *strambotti* in this collection are thematically connected to their preceding *barzellette*. For more on the phenomenon of *barzelletta-strambotto* pairings in this manuscript, see the discussion below.

34 In addition to these five lyric texts with extant musical settings, the *Cansonero* also preserves another *barzelletta* ("Io inde tengnio quanto a cte," fols. 3v–4r) ascribed to ".C." (or "C[oletta di Amendolea]") that seems to match the incipit of Johannes Martini's *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te*. On this connection, see D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 44, 46–48. Although Martini's mass has no extant musical model, J. Peter Burkholder has posited a hypothetical reconstruction of the original song in Burkholder, "Johannes Martini," 490–503. For further discussion of this particular case, see below.

Among the *Cansonero*'s five texts with extant musical settings, only three follow the typical style and form of the Neapolitan lyric tradition: the two *barzellette*, "O vos homines qui transitis" and "Amor tu non me gabasti," and the *strambotto*, "Core volonteruso dura dura."[35]

Incipit	Folio	Musical Mss	Genre	Author
"La vita de colino non dura quatro iornj"	12r–v	Montecassino 871	Undet.	Anon.
"Core volonteruso dura dura"	13r	Montecassino 871 (also lit.: Vaticano latino 10656)	*Strambotto siciliano*	Anon.
"O vos homines qui transitis"	13v	Montecassino 871	*Barzelletta macaronica*	Anon.
"O rosa bella, o dolce anima mia"	34r	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris	*Ballata giustiniana*	L. Giustinian
"Amor tu non me gabasti"	42r	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431	*Barzelletta*	Anon.

Table IV.2. Neapolitan lyric texts in Paris 1035 with extant musical settings.

Each of these songs represents the Neapolitan lyric tradition's musical and literary character in different ways. Though its incipit implies a sacred song, "O vos homines qui transitis," found on folio 13v of the *Cansonero*, is a macaronic *barzelletta* that mixes parodied Latin verse drawn from a sacred Tenebrae responsory text for Holy Saturday (Lamentations 1:12) with Neapolitan courtly love poetry.

The poem takes the Lenten lamentation of the antiphon and transforms it into a love lament, as the poet declares in its refrain: "O you who pass by / In pain and great suffering / Remember that love / Has taken me, as you see." Following the initial refrain, each stanza is introduced with another snippet of Latin text—"Actendite e videte" and "Miserere mey piange"—to emphasize the serious, almost sacred, quality of the lover's grief. While this practice of fusing together the sacred and the profane is occasionally used in Neapolitan lyric texts, it is also quite common in the Hispanic tradition that flourished in the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples.[36]

35　All three songs are preserved with musical settings in Montecassino 871. Pope and Kanazawa have discussed them each individually in the commentary to their edition of the musical manuscript: Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 575–76, 580–81, and 656.

36　On the connections between Neapolitan and Iberian-language poetry, as well as the flourishing of Hispanic literature, during the Aragonese reign, see Croce, *La Spagna*, 54–74; Rovira, *Humanistas y poetas*; Gargano, *Con accordato canto*, 79–120; Black, "Poetic Taste at the Aragonese Court."

O vos homines qui transitis	O you who pass by
in pena e gran dolor,	In pain and great suffering
recordare quel amor	Remember that love
m'a preso como vediti.	Has taken me, as you see.
Actendite e videte	Watch and witness
se simele corpo humano	If [there's been] a similar human body
quale fo may core di preta,	Which was ever [as] a heart of stone
turcho jodio[37] pagano.	Turk, Jew, or pagan.
Chi serve lo tempo invano	He who serves time in vain
sulo vivo in tanto arrore.	Only lives in great horror
Recordare chil amore	Remember that love
m'a preso como viditi.	Has taken me, as you see.
"Miserere mey," piange	"Miserere mey" cries
la trista anima smarrita.	The desperate, lost soul
O gentil donna dalagnie,	Oh, gentlewoman d'Alagne
in manus tuas mia vita.	My life [is] in your hands
Ancora che so perdicta	Still, since I am lost
morer[r]o to servitore.	I will die your servant
Recordare chil amore	Remember that love
m'a preso como vediti.[38]	Has taken me, as you see.

Indeed, within the surviving body of mixed Latin- and Iberian-language poetry from this period, several full-length and fragmentary "Misas de Amor," which parody portions of the mass ordinary against courtly love themes, were written by Castilian poets employed by the Aragonese kings in Naples: Suero de Ribera, Juan de Dueñas, and Juan de Tapia.[39] In the Agnus Dei from Suero de Ribera's "Misa de Amor," for example, the Latin phrases "Miserere nobis" and "dona nobis pacem" are used humorously to punctuate the individual prayers of the unlucky "desamados" and contented "amados," respectively.

"Cordero de Dio de venus,"	"Lamb of the God of Venus,"
—dezían los desamados—	—the unloved ones said—
"Tú que pones los cuidados	"You, who put cares [upon us],
quítalos que sean menos;	take them away so that they may be fewer;
pues tienes poder mundano,	for you have power over the world,
¡Oh Señor tan soberano	Oh, Lord, so sovereign
Miserere nobis!"	*Miserere nobis* [Have mercy upon us]!"

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37 "Jodio" here can be read as a spelling variant of the Neapolitan "judeu," which would be translated as "giudeo" in Tuscan Italian.

38 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1035, fol. 13v.

39 See, in particular, Rovira, *Humanistas y poetas*, 71–73.

"Cordero de Dios de Venus,"	"Lamb of the God of Venus,"
—te suplican los amados—	—the beloved ones beg you—
"Tú que pones los cuidados	"You, who put the cares [upon us],
plégate nunca ser menos	submit [that we will] never be less
de los que somos agora:	than what we are now:
cada cual con su señora	each one with his wife
dona nobis pacem"[40]	*dona nobis pacem* [grant us peace]."

By introducing each stanza (as well as the *ripresa*) with snippets of Latin text, the anonymous author of "O vos homines qui transitis" utilizes an almost identical approach to Ribera, in this case, in order to intensify the depth of the lover's plight.

The stylistic connection between this Neapolitan love lament and the wider tradition of Latin-Castilian parody texts is further reinforced by a contemporary cultural reference made in the poem's second stanza. Herein, the lover addresses his prayer directly to his beloved, who is identified as the "gentil donna d'Alagne," or the Neapolitan lady Lucrezia d'Alagno. The daughter of the Neapolitan baron Cola d'Alagno, Lucrezia was Alfonso il Magnanimo's mistress from the time she was eighteen. In fact, Alfonso was so enamored of her that he gifted her with substantial riches and territories throughout the Kingdom, and she eventually came to wield considerable political and financial power. This power also allowed her to act as a patron, who was esteemed and frequently celebrated in verse by various humanists and poets of the Kingdom.[41] A testament to her political and cultural importance, the numerous literary works honoring Lucrezia were written in four different languages: Latin, Castilian, Catalan, and the *koiné napoletana*.[42] Although the vast majority of these were written in Iberian languages, the five surviving Neapolitan texts that mention Lucrezia comprise one of the few occasions in which the Neapolitan poets living under Alfonso's rule composed in a similar way to their Castilian and Catalan counterparts, perhaps because their own native vernacular was also that of the king's beloved lady.

Of the twenty surviving poems written in Lucrezia's honor, the only one for which we have a musical setting is "O vos homines qui transitis." And it is in the context

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40 Quoted in Rovira, *Humanistas y poetas*, 72. My translation.

41 Two other poems in Paris 1035 also include dedications to or mentions of Lucrezia d'Alagne: the *sonetto* "Luce una stella ferrante nel tuo regno" (fol. 37r–v) and the *sonetto caudato* "Sel celi o distino o ventura" (fol. 20r). In addition, the extensive *barzelletta*, "Ay Napoli excellente," written in honor of Alfonso I d'Aragona and found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1097 (fols. 61r–63r) includes a reference to Lucrezia in its sixth full stanza. For more on this, see Pèrcopo, "Rassegna." For a full transcription of these poems, see the edition that Pèrcopo reviews: Mandalari, *Rimatori napoletani del Quattrocento*, 73, 132, 187–91. For general information on Lucrezia d'Alagne, see Colline [Benedetto Croce], "Lucrezia d'Alagno"; Colline [Benedetto Croce], "Lucrezia d'Alagno [cont.]"; Filangieri, "Nuovi documenti intorno la famiglia."

42 Rovira collects all twenty of these texts in what he terms the "Cancionero al amor de Lucrezia d'Alagno" in the appendix of Rovira, *Humanistas y poetas*, 161–208.

of this musical setting that we see a further level of connection between Spanish and Neapolitan circles.[43] Preserved in Montecassino 871, the notated setting of "O vos homines qui transitis" is one of a number of Neapolitan lyric texts with extant polyphonic settings attributed to Spanish composers from the Neapolitan musical chapel.[44] In this case, the music is ascribed to the Valencian singer and composer Pedro Oriola, whose employment in Naples is recorded as early as 1441 and as late as 1470.[45] There are several noteworthy aspects to Oriola's setting of "O vos homines." First, as a Spanish composer with what seems to have been a deep and longstanding connection to King Alfonso, his choice to set this particular text could not have been coincidence. Rather, by providing this text with a more formally composed musical dress, he sets it above and apart from the many other Neapolitan *barzellette* of the period, which were almost certainly sung to the more generic improvised melodies typical of the oral tradition.

Musically, Oriola's three-voice musical setting is structured in a two-part refrain form that strictly follows the poetic structure of the *barzelletta*, which, as numerous scholars have noted, bears a striking resemblance to that of the Spanish *canción*.[46] Mixing together both improvisatory and more formally composed elements, its polyphonic texture is treble-dominated and includes frequent melodic pairing and parallel motion between the Cantus and Tenor parts, while the Contrabassus functions predominantly as a foundation for the upper voices (see example IV.1). Yet, it also has some expressive qualities that would have been difficult to execute in polyphonic performance without some level of pre-planning. In particular, the Cantus's opening melodic gesture encapsulates the sigh of the lover's lament, descending only a half-step in poignantly slow-moving note values before continuing forward with a series of formulaic stepwise passages in parallel thirds against the tenor. One can imagine that such a musical rendering would have been remarkably fit for an audience with the king himself, most likely in the company of his beloved lady Lucrezia. In setting the typical Neapolitan lyric genre of the *barzel-*

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43 Although the music and text for this song are preserved only in Neapolitan sources (Montecassino 871 and Paris 1035), it was almost certainly already known in Spain as well, as it is cited within the anonymous Castilian poem "En Ávila por la A," preserved in the so-called *Chansonnier d'Herberay* compiled between 1461 and 1464 (London, British Library, MS Add. 33382, fols. 195v–206r). On this poem, see Fallows, "A Glimpse of the Lost Years," esp. 23–25.

44 Others include: "Moro perche non day fede" by Juan Cornago, "Trista che spera morendo" by Pedro Oriola, and "Pover me mischin dolente" and "Se io te [h]o dato" by Bernhard Ycart. See part V.

45 On Oriola, see Atlas's biographical profile in Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 60–62.

46 For a full transcription and commentary on the musical setting of this poem in Montecassino 871, see Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 188–91, 580–81. On the debate over the connections between the *barzelletta* and the *canción*, see López, "Lirica spagnola in Italia nel secolo XVI"; Pèrcopo, "Review of P. Savj López"; Croce, *La Spagna*, 54–74; introduction to Corti, *Rime e lettere*, xxxv–xxxvi; De Blasi and Vàrvaro, "Napoli e l'Italia meridionale," 243; Gargano, *Con accordato canto*, 93–95.

Example IV.1. Opening of "O vos homines qui transite," Montecassino 871, p. 279.

letta, Oriola's melodically expressive, treble-dominated texture in "O vos homines" draws upon a style typical for late-Quattrocento poet-improvisers, who often performed such songs with solo voice and a chordal instrumental accompaniment.[47]

The musical setting of the *barzelletta* "Amor tu non me gabasti," preserved in both Perugia 431 (three voices) and Montecassino 871 (four voices), has a slightly

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47   There are examples of this practice in several different traditions, including the *giustiniana* and *lauda* traditions, the improvised Latin or Italian poetry and song of political leaders like Leonello d'Este and Lorenzo de' Medici, and improvised music in theater like Poliziano's *Favola d'Orfei*. For more on these traditions, see Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare*; Gallo, *Musica nel castello*; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*; Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*; Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*. Regarding improvised song performance in Naples, in particular, see, among others, Bortoletti, "La voce dei poeti"; Bortoletti, "*Arcadia*, festa e *performance*."

more complex contrapuntal texture with imitative passages throughout (see example IV.2).[48] The composition bears traces of popular orality in its main point of imitation, which outlines a perfect fifth in descending triadic motion (C–A–F). This tune's triadic structure and limited pitch range illustrate the economy of means necessary to orally composed melodies and could have easily been improvised in imitative polyphonic passages like those in our *barzelletta*.[49] In addition, as I will discuss in detail later in this chapter, this opening motive appears in a number of other Italian-texted songs transmitted in Neapolitan manuscripts.[50] Among these, the lyric text of the musical model for Johannes Martini's *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te*, the five-stanza *barzelletta* "Io inde tengnio quant a cte," is also preserved in Paris 1035.

The text of "Amor tu non me gabasti," found on folio 42r of the *Cansonero napoletano* (Paris 1035), deals once again with issues of courtly love in the *koiné napoletana*.

Amor tu non me gabasti	Love, you have not tricked me
ch'io già te canoscia.	For I already knew you.
M'a forczao la voglia mia	It was the lady you gave me
la segnora che me dasti.	Who forced my will.
Io havea voluntate	I had the will
non s[er]virte piu degrato[51]	To stop serving you with pleasure
per le toe falçe passate	Because of your false steps
che [con]mico tu ay usate.	Which you used against me.
Pero finche fu incace	So, even as I was incapable
non fu per credere a ctia.	It was not because I believed in you.
M'a sforçao la voglia mia	It was the lady you gave me
la signora che mi daste.	Who forced my will.

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48 For a full transcription and commentary on the musical setting of this poem in Montecassino 871, see Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 168–71, 575–76.

49 For more on the practice of improvised counterpoint, see Canguilhem, "*Ad imitationem sortisationis*"; Canguilhem, "Monodia e contrappunto"; Canguilhem, "Singing Upon the Book"; Schubert, "From Voice to Keyboard." Another scholar who has worked on the use and manipulation of short melodic modules in developing improvised counterpoint is Adam Gilbert. His work has been presented recently, for example, Gilbert, "Guido's Hand"; Gilbert, "Palindromic Play."

50 This triadic theme appears in numerous Italian- and French-texted songs transmitted in Neapolitan manuscripts. Among the Italian-texted repertory in particular, the following songs use the descending triad thematically: "O rosa bella" (in Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, and Seville-Paris), "A latre perche robate" (in Perugia 431 and the Foligno fragment), "Vilana che sa tu far" (in Seville-Paris), "La taurina" (in Bologna Q 16), "Rayson aviti multo ingrosso" (in Bologna Q 16), "De placebo la vita mia" (in Bologna Q 16), and "Lent et scolorito [Elend du hast]" (in Bologna Q 16). As I will discuss below, it also appears in the musical model Martini's *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te* reconstructed in Burkholder, "Johannes Martini," esp. 487–503.

51 "Degrato" here can be read as an archaic form of "de grado" or "di buon grado"—that is, "willingly" or "with pleasure."

Example IV.2. Opening of "Amor tu non me gabasti," Perugia 431, fols. 76v–77r.

Consisting of a four-line *ripresa* and a single stanza, the poet-lover sings of his defiance against Love's power: "Love, you have not tricked me / For I already knew you. / It was the lady you gave me / Who forced my will." The *barzelletta* is then concluded on the verso side of folio 42 by a thematically related *strambotto*, "Tucta si chiena de falzi e deganni" (or "You are full of falsehoods and trickery"), which has no surviving evidence of a musical setting (see figure IV.1). This kind of *barzelletta-strambotto* pairing is quite common in the *Cansonero*. In fact, of the collection's seventy-two *strambotti*, nearly half are thematically connected to the *barzellette* that precede them. "O vos homines qui transitis," for example, is also followed by the fragmentary *strambotto* "O cruda sorte perche me confunde" (or "O cruel fate, why do you confound me"), and again that poem has no extant musical setting (see figure IV.2).

Does this mean that these *strambotti* were not sung? Given the musical nature of their paired *barzellette*, that seems unlikely. In fact, literary historian Erasmo Pèrcopo even went so far as to claim that this poetic pairing, a common feature of Quattrocento Neapolitan poetry in general, may be connected to musical performance practice.[52] As Pope and Kanazawa have rightly pointed out, however, there are no surviving examples of such a pairing in musical sources.[53] And yet, it is worth noting that the compilers of such polyphonic choirbooks had very different priorities from those of literary collections like the *Cansonero napoletano*. Indeed, even if, in their original context, these *strambotti* were sung as musical codas to their preceding *barzellette*, it is unlikely that someone copying those songs twenty years later in a polyphonic choirbook intended primarily for French or sacred repertories would have been aware of that fact.

Coincidentally, "Core volonteruso dura dura," the one *strambotto* in the *Cansonero napoletano* for which we do have an extant musical setting, is not visually or metrically connected to any other poem (see figure IV.3 below). Like many others in the collection, this *strambotto siciliano* is made up of eight hendecasyllabic lines with an alternating A and B rhyme scheme. In introducing the poem's courtly love theme, the first two lines use a rhetorical device of text repetition that is common to a number of late-fifteenth-century Neapolitan songs.[54] In addition, its lines are constructed from what seem to be a series of proverbs or proverb-like statements, such as "Non te rencresca la longa demora / Ca l'albero in un culpo non se taglia" ("Let not the long delay cause you regret / for a tree is not cut in one stroke") or "Mai non lassare inpresa per pagura / Ca bo' sparvero no falle may quaglia" ("Never quit the game out of fear / for the good hawk never misses his quail").

The musical setting for this *strambotto*, preserved once again in Montecassino 871, presents additional evidence of a possible origin in oral performance (see example IV.3).[55] Therein, the text is set in a mostly homophonic, treble-dominated four-voice texture. The musical structure follows the poem closely with clearly defined phrases that coincide with the natural caesura of the line. Moreover, the melody emphasizes the accented penultimate syllable of each line with improvisatory ornamentation leading up to each cadence.

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52   Pèrcopo, *Barzellette napoletane del Quattrocento*, 10–11.

53   Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 74.

54   For example, the *strambotto siciliano* "Son stato nel inferno tanto tanto," which is preserved with a musical setting in Seville-Paris, and its matching *lauda* text by Feo Belcari, "Sono stato in peccato tanto tanto," both have this type of text repetition. Indeed, the repeated ending rhyme-word is a popular rhetorical figure in *strambotti* of the late-fifteenth century more generally, including those of well-known poets like Panfilo Sasso and Serafino dell'Aquila.

55   For a full transcription and commentary on the musical setting of this poem in Montecassino 871, see Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 500–501, 656.

Figure IV.1. "Amore tu non me gabasti" and "Tucta si chiena de falzi e de ganni," Paris 1035, fol. 42r–v.
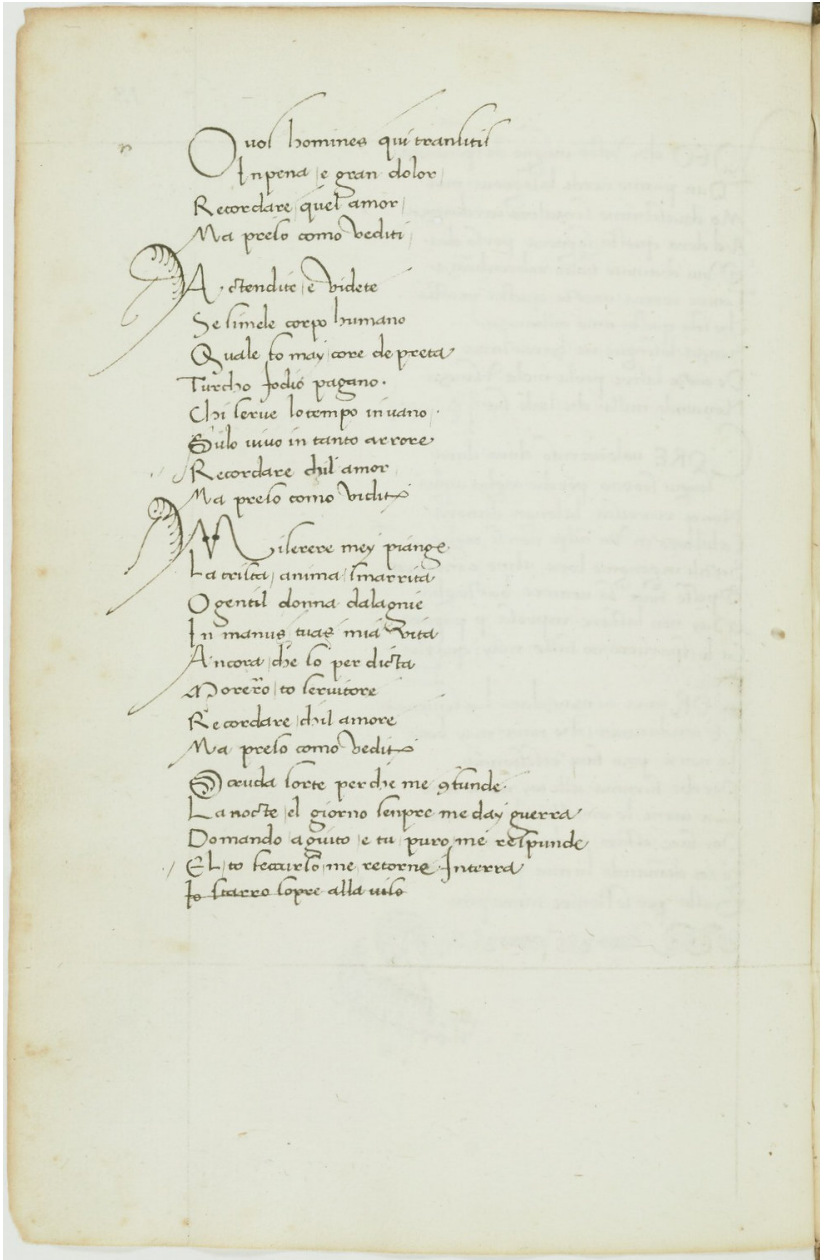
Figure IV.2. "O vos homines qui transitis," Paris 1035, fol. 13v.

Figure IV.3. "Core volonteruso dura dura," Paris 1035, fol. 13r.

Example IV.3. Opening of "Core volonteruso dura dura," Montecassino 871, pp. 418–19.

In general, the three texts just discussed follow a certain set of criteria: they are all in typical Neapolitan genres, they all address courtly love themes, and they are all written in some version of the *koiné napoletana*. In contrast, however, each of the two remaining musical texts in Paris 1035—"La vita de colino" and "O rosa bella"—has a very different character. "La vita de colino" is an anonymous drinking song with an unclear poetic form that devolves into nonsense syllables, as follows:

> La vita de colino non dura quatro iornj
> Chi nante se couerna so gentil conpangnione
> Ho Ho Ho.
>
> Andava a la taverna co gran devocione
> No porta ne donare ne voreza ne pigno
> Ho Ho Ho.
>
> Ho ho hora guilglielme guilglielme lep[re]se laffanno
> La selva la ran daran dan duf.
> Tarara rirari dan duf.

> Vivinacre vinacre come po bere marzant
> Guiglielmice triciavaus guiglielmia triciavaus
> Guiglielmia del bon vin guiglielmia del bon pan.[56]

Written in a combination of Neapolitan vernacular and nonsense syllables, this poem depicts the portrait of an unfortunate drunkard Colino, who is unable to pay his bar tab at the tavern. Although a totally coherent meaning of the text is difficult to decipher, it seems that Guglielmo, the tavern owner, will no longer put up with Colino's freeloading and, after some verbal abuse, finally resorts to giving him vinegar instead of wine. In comparison with the other works in this collection, the subject matter, form, and linguistic character of this poem are anomalous. Based on the visual cues of versification and layout in the manuscript's copying (including capital letters at the start and space left at the end of each stanza), "La vita de colino" appears to be composed of four three-line stanzas of varying line lengths and irregular rhyme scheme (see figure IV.4).

In fact, in contrast to the poems surrounding it, many of the verses appear to be much longer than is typical—ranging from as few as eight to as many as sixteen syllables. In general, throughout Paris 1035, the scribe copies one metrical verse per line on the page, leaving ample space in the margins around each text. In the case of this song, however, I would suggest that the scribe has actually copied two individual verses continuously for each line of text, such that the song could actually be read as a series of *settenari*, as follows:

> La vita de colino
> non dura quatro iornj
> Chi nante se couerna
> so gentil conpangnione
> Ho Ho Ho.
>
> Andava a la taverna
> co gran devocione
> No porta ne donare
> ne voreza ne pigno
> Ho Ho Ho.
>
> Ho ho hora guilglielme
> guilglielme lep[re]se laffanno

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56   An exact translation of this song is difficult to achieve. My best attempt is as follows: "Colin's life will not last four days. / How he carries himself forward this gentle companion. / Ho Ho Ho. / He went to the tavern with great devotion. / He brings neither money, nor wallet, nor pawn ticket. / Ho Ho Ho. / Ho ho now Guglielmo, Guglielmo is getting tired of it. / The forest la ran daran dan duf. / Tarara rirari dan duf. / Vi-vinegar vinegar just like one drinks [while] marching. / Guglielmice the trash-talker Guglielmia talks trash. / Guglielmo of good wine Guglielmo of good bread." Paris 1035, fol. 12r–v. Semi-diplomatic transcription (reproducing the versification as well as the text itself); my translation.

La selva la ran daran dan duf.
Tarara rirari dan duf.

Vivinacre vinacre
come po bere marzant
Guiglielmice triciavaus
guiglielmia triciavaus
Guiglielmia del bon vin
guiglielmia del bon pan.

In this reading, the song begins with two five-verse stanzas, each made up of four *settenari* and punctuated by the exclamation "Ho ho ho," and then moves into a freer section of irregular stanzas, which are nonetheless organized in groupings of around seven- to eight-syllable lines. Even with this revised understanding of the song's verse structure, "La vita de colino" does not adhere precisely to any formal genre or poetic type of the period, but given its line lengths and stanzaic structure it is possible to read it as a popular-style *canzonetta* or *barzelletta*. Why, though, if the song is truly structured in a series of *settenari* does the scribe copy it as he does? Given the song's caricaturesque and vulgar subject matter, not to mention its irregular layout and visual appearance, its unusual presentation in an otherwise consistent and well-formulated collection is, indeed, difficult to explain, but its musical concordances in Montecassino 871 may shed some light on the matter.

Within the extensive repertory of secular song preserved in Montecassino 871, variations on the text of "La vita de colino" appear in two different musical settings. The first is a setting of a simple dance-based melody in duple meter written out in a homophonic four-voice texture.[57] As shown in figure IV.5, the cantus melody is supported by a simple chordal texture in the lower three voices in a musical setting that could have easily been performed as a solo song with instrumental accompaniment. Indeed, that this poem was a popularly sung dance tune, which likely circulated in an oral tradition long before it was written down, is certainly a plausible and attractive solution. Nonetheless, a closer look at the text in Montecassino 871 raises some questions as to its origin:

La vida de culin no dura pas tot jors	Colin's life will not last forever
Commant i si governa le suego	How he behaves *le suego* (?)
O | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o	
Hora more guillelmin	Now Guillelmin dies

Figure IV.4. "La vita de colino non dura quat[tr]o iornj," Paris 1035, fol. 12r–v.

Figure IV.5. "La vida de culin," Montecassino 871, p. 271.

Though this version of the poem is incomplete and considerably corrupted, it is nonetheless clear that we are no longer dealing with a purely Neapolitan text. Indeed, the first two verses alone combine French, Italian, and Spanish words in a way that makes their meaning nearly unintelligible. If this were the only version of the text in this manuscript, perhaps we could imagine that transmission and scribal error were the sole causes of such linguistic corruption, but the text accompanying the tenor part of a double chanson ("Que faray je mal fortune / La vida de Colin") later in the collection reveals a more complete French version of the song, which hints at its potential for a non-Neapolitan origin:[58]

La vida de Colin no dura tous jors	Colin's life will not last forever
Comant il se governant ses gentils companyons	How they behave, his gentle companions
Comant il se governant ses companyons	How they behave, his companions
Il vont a la taverna con gran devocion	They go to the tavern with great devotion

The three versions of the text and two different musical settings, thus, present a varied picture of what might have been the song's performance and transmission history. But which came first? Cantelmo's *Cansonero napoletano* predates the musical collection by about fifteen to twenty years, but that does not necessarily mean that the Neapolitan version of the text preceded the French one. In their commentary to the edition of Montecassino 871, Pope and Kanazawa imply—without much certainty—that the French version came first, and should thus inform our understanding and translation of the Neapolitan version in Paris 1035.[59] David Fallows, on the other hand, places "La vita de colin" squarely within the Italian portion of his *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, giving precedence to the earlier poetic concordance.[60] If the song is originally French, how did it come to be included at the heart of two central Neapolitan collections of poetry and song? If its origin were in Naples, why would it have appeared in French in a musical manuscript copied and compiled in southern Italy? Moreover, what role might the song's musical rendering have played in all of this? Was it preserved in Paris 1035 because it was known through musical performance, or did it circulate separately as well?

If the text were French, its transmission would likely be attributable to the Angevin dynasty, which created a cultural link between France and southern Italy for over a century before the Aragonese kings came to power.[61] In fact, the connection between the two French versions of the text and their musical settings in Mon-

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58   The double chanson ("Que faray je mal fortune / La vida de Colin") appears later in the collection: Montecassino 871, p. 372.

59   Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 574–75.

60   Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 533. Fallows similarly interprets the form of the text as a series of *settenari*.

61   On the Angevin dynasty in the Kingdom of Naples, see Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli*; Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*.

tecassino 871 may indicate the importance of French in the song's performance history. In particular, the placement of the first section of "La vida de Colin" in a double ballade against the French chanson "Que faray je mal fortune" provides the problematic text with a significant connection to the tradition of French secular song. Nonetheless, both versions in French include words like "vida" and "taverna," which seem to be drawn from either Italian or Spanish. And the corrupted text of the four-part song setting also seems to have an unintelligible mingling of all three languages in its second verse: "Commant i si governa le suego." Moreover, although the song's placement in the tenor of a double ballade certainly associates it with that tradition, that does not definitively imply a French origin either since other popular Italian texts, such as "O rosa bella," can also be found juxtaposed with French chansons in similar polytextual settings.[62]

Within the *Cansonero napoletano*, the song's formal and linguistic characteristics are unusual, but while its nonsense syllables in particular may seem out of place in that context, they do not go beyond the realm of possibility. In fact, they are strikingly reminiscent of other traditions in Italian poetry and music, such as the fourteenth-century *caccia*[63] or the works of the sixteenth-century macaronic poet Teofilo Folengo.[64] Nor has other scholarship failed to see the connection between the song text's nonsense syllables and its musico-poetic performance. In one analysis, for example, Knud Jeppesen emphasizes the significance of the "o" vowel as representative of a vocal melisma.[65] Moreover, Pope and Kanazawa regard all the nonsense syllables in the Paris 1035 version of "La vita de colino" as onomatopoeic representations of the sounds of musical instruments.[66] In general, I would add, these nonsense syllables were almost certainly sung in performance for comedic effect, as a vocal illustration of Colino's drunkenness. Regardless of the song's exact origin, then, what we find in these two manuscripts—Paris 1035 and Montecassino 871—must have been the result of a long process of dissemination and transformation through oral performance. Given the linguistic and cultural variety in the musical and literary practices of the Aragonese kingdom, "La vita de colino" could have easily been performed with the same melodic structure in any of a number of languages, from French to Spanish to Italian, and its placement in Cantelmo's

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62 As discussed in part III, this kind of polytextual setting of "O rosa bella" is preserved in Seville-Paris.

63 On the fourteenth-century *caccia*, see Griffiths, *Hunting the Origins of the Trecento Caccia*. More recently, Jamie Reuland gave a talk at the 2017 meeting of the American Musicological Society in Rochester addressing the "matter of voice" and the aesthetics of sound in the nonsense syllables prevalent in the Trecento *caccia*. Reuland, "Form and Matter in the Long Trecento."

64 In particular, I am thinking of Teofilo Folengo's *Baldus*, which frequently uses many of the same percussive strings of nonsense syllables that we see in the Paris 1035 copy of "La vita de colino." On the role of music and musicality in Folengo, see Cattin, "Canti, canzoni a ballo e danze"; Macchiarella, "Tracce della musica di tradizione orale."

65 Jeppesen, "Venetian Folk Songs of the Renaissance," 70–71.

66 Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 574.

poetic anthology might then be understood as the natural outgrowth of Naples's unique cultural intermingling.

Returning to the question of the song's visual presentation in Paris 1035, I would posit that its layout and textual rendering in the Neapolitan anthology exhibits some characteristics that indicate the scribe's knowledge—or, more precisely, memory—of a performed musical structure. First of all, the choice to copy two contiguous, undifferentiated *settenari* per line seems to reflect the melodic phrasing of the musical setting, rather than the poetic structure. As shown in the transcription in example IV.4, the first two *settenari* of each four-verse stanza in the A section are set to two distinct melodic phrases ending in a series of vocalizations on "Ho ho ho." The semibreve rest at the mid-point of the first phrase (measures 1–4 in the transcription) acts only as a brief pause, as the melodic focus on A in the Cantus at that point drives the line forward to a highpoint on C before reaching the mode final G at the end of measure 4. Similarly in the Cantus, the second melodic phrase (measures 5–8) quickly ascends from G to C and then pauses on A about halfway through—this time without a rest—before moving forward to the cadence at the end of measure 8. Hearing the four *settenari* sung to this melody, one would inevitably remember them as two longer phrases of paired verses—"La vita de colino non dura quatro iornj" followed by "Chi nante se coverna so gentil compangnione"—rather than individual, metrically separate seven-syllable lines.

The "Ho ho ho" vocalizations at the end of each stanza in Paris 1035 also reflect the melodic phrase structure of the musical setting. At first glance, Paris 1035 and Montecassino 871 appear to be quite different from each other in this respect: in Paris 1035, each of the first two stanzas ends with three iterations of "Ho ho ho," which correspond to a string of 12 individual "o" vowels in Montecassino 871 (compare figures IV.4 and IV.5). However, the melodic rendering of this vocalization at the closing of the A section of the song's musical setting is actually broken up into three four-note phrases, each separated by a semibreve rest (see measures 9–14 of the transcription in example IV.4). Given the nature of the text here, a listener would likely hear this as three melismatic vocalizations on "Ho ho ho," rather than twelve individual "o" vowels as in the text underlay transmitted by Montecassino 871. In this way, again, the textual rendering of the vocalization in Paris 1035 may actually reflect the aural experience of hearing it performed. This likelihood is further reinforced in the transition to the B-section stanzas that follow in Paris 1035, wherein the alliterative quality of these syllables between the end of the song's A section ("Ho ho ho") and the first line of the B section is underscored by the scribal repetition of the first syllable: "Ho ho hora guilglielme."

Another strange feature of the song's layout occurs after the second stanza on folio 12r, where a large space is left blank through the bottom of the folio before the rest of the song is picked up again on the verso side of the leaf (see figure IV.4).

Example IV.4. Modern transcription of "La vita de colino."[67]

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67   This transcription combines the musical setting in Montecassino 871, p. 271 with the full text transmitted by Paris 1035, fol. 12r–v.

Example IV.4 (*continued*).

This is the only place in the anthology that leaves such a gap in the middle of a poem—a phenomenon with no concrete explanation. Perhaps, there were more three-verse stanzas that followed the same pattern as the first two (ending in "ho ho ho") that the scribe could not access or remember, and space was left at the bottom of the page in case of an opportunity to add them later. Another possibility might be that the scribe intended to have some kind of illumination there that was never completed; however, this is much less likely, since there are only a few minor decorations throughout the entire manuscript and none of those occur in the middle of a poem. Whatever the reason may be, the this large blank space creates a stark visual contrast between the stanzas that would be sung during the A section of the musical setting on the recto side of folio 12 from those belonging to the song's B section on the verso side—once again revealing some significant familiarity with the musical structure in the song's *mise en page*.

The scribal treatment of "La vita de colino" in Paris 1035, thus, encapsulates aspects of the song's composition that are inextricably linked to its musical structure. The

written-out nonsense syllables and the structural division between portions of text belonging respectively to the A and B sections of the musical setting strongly suggest that the *Cansonero*'s copyist—and likely also its patron—were well aware of its musical setting. Furthermore, this connection to musical performance seems similarly relevant in the manuscript's rendering of "O rosa bella"—a widely disseminated *ballata* attributed to the Venetian poet and statesman Leonardo Giustinian in the early fifteenth century.[68] Like "La vita de colino," the copy of "O rosa bella" in Paris 1035 also has an unusual layout compared to the rest of the collection (see figure IV.6). Whereas the *Cansonero*'s scribe typically copies each lyric text in a single column aligned to the left margin on each page with one verse per line, the text of "O rosa bella" is presented in two columns at the top of folio 34r. Among the *Cansonero napoletano*'s 144 lyric texts, "O rosa bella" is alone in its two-column layout, which the scribe delineates from the rest of the texts on the page with a decorative border. This decorative border is one of the few scribal embellishments throughout the codex that seem to have some specific purpose in either clarifying a poem's structure or illustrating its theme.

As shown earlier in figure IV.3, for example, the *strambotto siciliano* "Fortuna tu m'[h]ay data la sentencia" (copied directly below "Core volonteruso dura dura") is accompanied by an illustration of a woman with an ornamented line emanating from her mouth—perhaps as a symbol of Fortune's seductive and damning song.[69]

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68 "O rosa bella," which also has settings in Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, and Seville-Paris, is one of the most famous *giustiniane* of the Quattrocento for both its text and its musical setting, which exists in multiple versions in manuscripts from all over the Italian peninsula. For a full list of concordances, see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 545–50. For more on "O rosa bella" in general and the variations based on it that proliferated in fifteenth-century music sources, see "*Ricercare* and Variations on *O Rosa Bella*," in Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy*, 145–58.

69 See Paris 1035, fol. 13v. Smaller drawings of this type of female profile also accompany several other poems on themes of unrequited love, including "Oyme che finerando li mey stenti" (fol. 3r), "Chi fosse quillo che me canossesse" (fols. 7v–8r), and "Facte molla e non piu dura" (fol. 11r–v). In addition, there is one very large illustration of a dragon that takes up over half a page below the lyric text "Sancto Lonardo fo de la matina" (fol. 39r). According to *The Golden Legend*, St. Leonard (born ca. 500) was a courtier of the Frankish King Clovis I, but ultimately chose to live as a hermit near Limoges. Among his many miracles, he is said to have had the ability to break the bonds of prisoners when called to their aid. In one example, following his death, a holy man and prisoner (also named Leonard) prayed upon the image of St. Leonard when a great serpent appeared and through that prisoner's fervent prayer, the serpent was slain. By the late Middle Ages, the cult of St. Leonard had spread as far south as the Kingdom of Naples, where his legend was clearly used as a devotional theme in a popular-style song on the chains of unrequited love. Given the historical context, the use of this saint's life—and in particular his breaking of chains and delivering prisoners from bondage—also has significant political connotations. On St. Leonard, see Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 629–32; Saint-Léonard, *Saint Léonard du Limousin*. For a full image of the poem and illustration (which includes a capital initial S in the shape of a serpent) in Paris 1035, see figure C.8 in appendix C.

Figure IV.6. "O rosa bella," Paris 1035, fol. 34r.

Returning to "O rosa bella," once again, the division and layout of poetic verses seems to reflect a memory of the song's musical structure in performance with each line representing a melodic phrase rather than a metrically defined unit (see verse structure divisions in table IV.3).[70] As shown in table IV.3, the resulting text appears initially as a series of irregular verse lengths and rhyme endings, rather than as a standard one-stanza *ballata minore* made up of *endecasillabi sciolti*, as in the complete text underlaid to Ciconia's musical setting in the manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Urbinate lat. 1411 (fols. 7v–9r) quoted by Nino Pirrotta in his essay on "O rosa bella."[71]

Paris 1035	VatUrbLat1411
O Rosa bella	O rosa bella, o dolçe anima mia,
O dolce anima mia	non mi lasar morire, in cortesia.
Non me lassare morire in cortesia	
O lasso me dolente	Ay, lass'a me dolente! deço finire
Vegio finire per ben servire	per ben servir e lealmente amare.
E lialmente amare	Socorimi ormai del mio languire,
//	cor del cor mio, no mi lassar penare.
O dio d'amore che cosa e questo amare	O idio d'amor, che pena è questa, amare!
Vide che moro per te iudea	Vide che io mor tuto hora per questa iudea.[73]
Non me lassare languire	
Core del corpo mio	
Non me lassare penare.[72]	

Table IV.3. Divisions in the verse structure of "O rosa bella" in Paris 1035 *versus* text appearing with Ciconia's musical setting in VatUrbLat1411 (fols. 7v–9r).

As a widely known *ballata giustiniana*, "O rosa bella" was transmitted in both oral and written contexts for the better part of a century. The poem survives in several different musical settings with numerous concordances, including four major

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70 See example D.5 in appendix D for a modern transcription of "O rosa bella" in Seville-Paris with full text underlay.

71 The text quoted in table IV.3 is transcribed directly from Pirrotta's "*Ricercare* and Variations on *O Rosa Bella*," in Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy*, 148–49.

72 "O beautiful rose / o my sweet soul / do not leave me here to die, in courtly servitude / O miserable me, in pain / I see the end [of me] for serving well and loving loyally // O god of love what is this love? / it sees [to it] that I die for you, selfish [woman] / Do not let me languish / Heart of my body / Do not let me suffer." My translation and semi-diplomatic transcription.

73 "O beautiful rose, o my sweet soul / do not leave me here to die, in courtly servitude / Alas, deliver me from suffering! I must die / in order to serve well and love loyally / Save me, now, from my languishing, / heart of my heart, do not let me suffer. / O god of love, what pain is this, to love! / it sees [to it] that I die even now for this selfish [woman]." My translation.

collections of Neapolitan secular song, three of which date from the last two decades of the century: Escorial B (from the 1460s) and Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, and Seville-Paris (from the 1480s–90s). Given the poem's origins in early-Quattrocento Venice rather than late-Quattrocento Naples, Pope and Kanazawa justify its presence in Paris 1035, stating that it is included "in the literary manuscript as if its presence were indispensable in a 'proper' anthology."[74] Yet, the insertion of this particular song text is not a common practice among other literary anthologies of the period.[75] Rather, a more likely explanation for its presence in the *Cansonero* is that "O rosa bella" is a necessary addition to any "proper" *songbook*, which is clearly the case given the numerous copies and versions of this song in musical manuscripts of the period.[76] The inclusion of musical texts like "La vita de colino" and "O Rosa bella" in Paris 1035 thus attests both to the multicultural character of poetic consumption in the Kingdom of Naples and to the fact that certain non-Neapolitan works were disseminated and incorporated into the local soundscape primarily through musical means. Neither song seems to fit into the Neapolitan lyric tradition, and, yet, they are both included in Cantelmo's collection most likely because of their status as popular musical texts well known throughout the Kingdom of Naples.

Even with some of the more unusual visual features of these two song texts in Paris 1035, however, there is no explicit rubric indicating that they were meant to be sung—no specific indication that differentiates them qualitatively from the other poems in the collection. From a material standpoint, this implies that all of the manuscript's poems have the same potential for musical performance, even if most of those settings were either never written down or lost over time. This phenomenon is concretized by the *barzelletta* "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte." This lyric text, found on folios 3v to 4r of Paris 1035, has no extant musical setting; yet, its incipit appears as the title of a polyphonic imitation mass from period by Martini, *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te*:[77]

Io inde tengnio quanto a cte	I have as much as you [do]
de 'ste frasche frunde et rame.	Of these branches, boughs, and limbs.
Et chi m'ame et chi no[n] m'ame,	And who loves me and doesn't love me
di[m]me chi me se da a [m]me?	Tell me, who will give herself to me?

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74 Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 73.

75 Outside of the printed edition of poems attributed to Giustinian, a text-only copy of "O rosa bella" only appears in one other manuscript anthology of the period: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1069, fol. 10r.

76 A partial list of musical concordances for this song can be found in the repertoire census (appendix A), no. 68. For a full list of the numerous sources that transmit different versions of this song's musical setting, see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 545–50.

77 This connection was first made by D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 44, 46–48.

Ja passao passao passao	Already it's passed, passed, passed
quillo tempo ch'io t'amava.	That time in which I loved you.
Poy che dio me liberao	Since God liberated me
de quella pena che stava,	From that pain that was there,
no[n] te stimo più una fava[78]	I don't give a fig about you
se me cacze o se me chiame.	If you chase me or if you call me.
Et chi m'ame et ch[i] no[n] m'ame,	And who loves me and doesn't love me
di[m]me chi me se da a [m]me?	Tell me, who will give herself to me?
Vecino aspecta vicenda,	A [male] neighbor awaits an affair,
vecina no[n] ce pensaste,	A [female] neighbor didn't think about it,
justa cosa ch'io e renda	It is only just that I should return
la moneta che me daste.	The money that you gave me.
Ora voglio che 'nde taste	Now I wish that you would feel some of
lacrime sospiri e brame.	The tears, sighs, and longing.
Et chi m'ame et ch no[n] m'ame,	And who loves me and doesn't love me
di[m]me chi me se da a [m]me?	Tell me, who will give herself to me?
Or biastema quanto voy,	Now, curse all you want,
dì pur male si sai,	Say evil if you even know [how],
e fa[m]me lo pejo che poy,	And do to me the worst that you can,
ch' a lo fine tu perderay	Since, in the end, you will lose
quanto più de parleray	Even more than you might say
tu stessa te de fame.	Yourself to your own desire.
Et chi m'ame e chi no[n] m'ame,	And who loves me and doesn't love me
di[m]me chi me se da a mme	Tell me, who will give herself to me?
A cavallo biastimato	On a cursed horse
sempre lo pilo le lùce[79]	The coat always glistens
de biasteme de so usato.	With the curses that are used.
Como lo lupo alle buche,	Just as the wolf in his den,
Ben te poi mectere in cruce	You can easily crucify yourself
che no[n] more piu de fame.	So that you no longer die of hunger.
Et chi m'ame et ch[i] no[n] m'ame,	And who loves me and doesn't love me
dimme chi me se da a [m]me?	Tell me, who will give herself to me?

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78 I translate this word as "fig" here in order to maintain idiomatic English, but I would clarify that the idiom in Italian is in reference to a fava bean.

79 This verb is a Neapolitan version of the now standard Tuscan "luccicare" (to shine, glisten, sparkle) in the third-person singular conjugation. I have added an *accento grave* to the "u" of "lùce" in order to distinguish it from the nominal form: luce (meaning "light").

Poi che poczo arreposare,	Since I can rest,
non voglio più fatica.	I no longer want to struggle.
Tu porrisse assay gridare	You could scream a great deal
in salvo sta cui ripica.	In saving that spiteful act.
Tu voy puro chello dica	You even want me to say that
non fo argento che fo rame.	It was not silver that made the branches.
Et chi m'ame et chi no[n] m'ame,	And who loves me and doesn't love me
di[m]me chi me se da a mme?	Tell me, who will give herself to me?

Attributed to C[oletta] in the manuscript, this *barzelletta* text follows the common thematic and stylistic profile of the *Cansonero napoletano*, including courtly love themes and a colloquial linguistic register that is full of Neapolitanisms.[80] It also incorporates the repetitive and formulaic syntactic structure commonly associated with improvisatory practice, in particular in its repeated refrain "Et chi m'ame e chi no[n] m'ame, / di[m]me chi me se da a mme?"

For a glimpse of the poem's original musical setting, we must return to the only real musical evidence we have: Martini's mass. In his 1985 study of Martini's imitation masses, J. Peter Burkholder proposed a reconstruction of the mass's polyphonic model based on a dual approach: (1) he conducted an in-depth analysis of the repeated musical material in the various movements of *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te*; (2) he considered the results of that analysis in the context of Martini's typical compositional style and, in particular, use of borrowed material in other works for which a surviving model is known.[81] At the time, Burkholder was unaware of the connection to the lyric poem in Paris 1035, and therefore lacked any information regarding the model's genre beyond its incipit, which could clearly be identified as belonging to an Italian secular song.[82] The resulting reconstructed model is all the more striking, then, in that it both takes the form of a polyphonic *barzelletta* setting and, when combined with the original text in Paris 1035, fits perfectly into the Neapolitan repertory identified and analyzed in this book (see example IV.5).

The musical structure of Burkholder's reconstructed song clearly includes an A section and a B section, which correspond neatly to the *ripresa*-stanza (including *piedi* and *volta*) structure of the *barzelletta* genre.[83] As is typical of other *barzelletta* settings in the Neapolitan song repertory, the overall polyphonic texture is treble-dominated with the Cantus performing the main melody paired in predominantly parallel motion with the Tenor and the Contra (where present) providing a tonal foundation for the upper two voices. In addition, the A section is charac-

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80 "Coletta" here is most likely Coletta di Amendolea. See Nichilo, "COLETTA."
81 See Burkholder, "Johannes Martini," esp. 487–503.
82 After learning of my work on this topic, Burkholder has since noted the existence of the model lyric text in Paris 1035 in a recent article on musical borrowing. Burkholder, "Musical Borrowing or Curious Coincidence?," 247.
83 See part V for a discussion of the form and style of the Neapolitan *barzelletta*.

terized by a more ornamented and melismatic text setting, which is followed by a homophonic, syllabic, and melodically limited B section. The resulting structure allows for a quick recitation-like declamation of the two *piedi* in each stanza to the same music (B section) between more expansive returns to the melismatic musical setting of the *ripresa* and *volta* (A section).

Nor is this juxtaposition of a melismatic A section with a recitation-like B section in a treble-dominated polyphonic texture the only major characteristic to mirror the Neapolitan *barzelletta*. Indeed, Burkholder's proposed reconstruction also begins with a striking melodic gesture in the Cantus that can be found at the opening of other Neapolitan song settings: the descending triad. As a basic musical gesture, the descending triad pattern can be found, with varying degrees of prominence, at some point in the polyphonic settings of twenty-one of the 106 Italian-texted songs preserved in Neapolitan music manuscripts of the period; however, it appears as an opening thematic motive or point of imitation similar to the reconstructed setting of "Io inde tengnio" in only four: "Amor tu non me gabasti," "A latre perche robate le fatighe," "Vilana che sa tu far," and "La Taurina" (see example IV.6).[84]

A comparison of the opening measures of each of these four songs with the reconstruction of "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte," as shown in example IV.6, reveals that this motive is used not only as an opening melodic gesture across all five works, but also as a key point of imitation. Although it may be tempting, given the geographic and cultural proximity of these song settings, to categorize the thematic similarities among these songs as a web of borrowing, I do not believe the musical evidence points to a conscious compositional choice to reference a specific tune or song setting among these various imitative openings.[85] Rather, as stated earlier in my discussion of "Amor tu non me gabasti," the frequent use of this simple point of imitation—outlining a perfect fifth in successive descending thirds—can be interpreted as evidence of a connection to oral performance. To be more precise, it exemplifies the kind of motive that could be used as a starting point in the widespread practice of improvised counterpoint.[86] This improvisatory technique is so easily applied, in fact, that one could imagine a similar imitative opening for "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte," as I have done in example IV.7.

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84   The other song settings from contemporary Neapolitan manuscripts that include this motive more generally in their polyphonic texture include: "O rosa bella," "In tempo che facia," La morte che spavento de felice," "Io sento d'onne banda suspirare," "A la Chaza, a la chaza," "Fatti bene asto meschino" (A), "Si dio sscendess' in terra," "Fo qui pronare Amore," "Rayson aviti multo ingrosso," "Per la goula," "Lassare amore," "I siderj vostri," "Per zenteleze," "De placebo vita mia," "Alla cacza alla cacza," and "Con gran disdigno." See the repertoire census in appendix A for information on these works and the sources that transmit them.

85   On the various kinds of musical borrowing, see Burkholder, "The Uses of Existing Music"; as well as the more recent Burkholder, "Musical Borrowing or Curious Coincidence?"

86   On improvised counterpoint, see Schubert, "Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance"; Schubert, "From Voice to Keyboard."

Example IV.5. Reconstructed musical setting of "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte."[87]

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87 The music in this reconstruction is transcribed from example 3 in Burkholder, "Johannes Martini," 490–91. The text is drawn from the *ripresa* and first stanza (including *piedi* and *volta*) of the manuscript copy of the *barzelletta* in Paris 1035, fol. 3v.

Example IV.5 (*continued*).

Example IV.6. Comparison of descending triad openings in Neapolitan song.
(IV.6a) Burkholder's reconstruction of "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte."

Example IV.6 (*continued*).
(IV.6b) "Amor tu non me gabasti" (three-voice version), Perugia 431, fols. 76v–77r.

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Example IV.6 (*continued*).
(IV.6c) "A latre perche robate," Perugia 431, fols. 87v–88r.

Example IV.6 (*continued*).
(IV.6d) "Vilana che sa tu far," Seville-Paris, fols. *Sev* 34v–35r (d10v–e1r).

Example IV.6 (*continued*).
(IV.6e) "La taurina," Bologna Q 16, fols. 26v–27r.

Example IV.7. Possible imitative opening for "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte."

When combined with the surviving text in Paris 1035, Burkholder's reconstructed polyphonic model for Martini's *Missa io ne tengo quanto a te*, thus, fits perfectly with the musical characteristics typical of both the polyphonic *barzelletta* and the Neapolitan song repertory as a whole. This is significant for two reasons: first, because it demonstrates the potential for the musical performance of a lyric text for which no musical setting survives; and second, because it reveals a key repertorial link between a decidedly written musical tradition—that of the Franco-Flemish imitation mass—and the oral practice of singing Neapolitan lyric. Such a connection implies that any text of a similar genre and style to "Io inde tengnio" might be have been sung, even when no musical evidence survives, not just among poet-improvisers in literary circles, but among trained musicians as well. Indeed, a closer look at the context in which "Io inde tengnio" is copied in the *Cansonero napoletano* provides a potential extension of its musical profile to a series of other poems: attributed to "Coletta," this *barzelletta* constitutes the first poem in an extended literary *tenzone* among several poets in Giovanni Cantelmo's literary circle, including Coletta di Amendolea, Francesco Galeota, and Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro.[88] The poems that form this *tenzone* are as shown in table IV.4.

The full *tenzone* comprises four *barzelletta-strambotto* pairings, which alternate among three different Neapolitan poets. In copying these works, the scribe of Paris 1035 provides each new pairing with a clear authorial attribution and prefaces the transition to the *strambotto* in each case with a generic indication ("Stranbocto") written on a separate line between the last verse of the *barzelletta* and the first verse of its paired *strambotto*. In addition, the end of the *tenzone* is demarcated by the indication ".f." written below the final *strambotto* text.[89] This rubrication creates a

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88 D'Agostino signals the existence of this *tenzone* in his "Reading Theorists for Recovering 'Ghost' Repertories," but does not posit any conclusions regarding its musical significance. See D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 46–48.

89 While the letter "F" is also occasionally used in this manuscript as an abbreviated attribution to Galeota, it is clear that in this particular instance that is not the case because the authorial attribution for the next poem on folio 7v ("Pasco la vita mia solo de pianto") is written out in its entirety below the ".f." rubric, as "Francisco galiocto." See Paris 1035, fol. 7v.

Folio(s)	Incipit	Author	Genre
3v–4r	"Io inde tengnio quanto a cte"	Coletta di Amendolea	*Barzelletta*
4r	"Cricte trovare argento et trovay rame"	Coletta di Amendolea	*Strambotto* (paired with preceding *barzelletta*)
4r–5r	"Chi se tene fermo sta"	Francesco Galeota	*Barzelletta*
5r	"Poviro so xiamato che far[r]ay"	Francesco Galeota	*Strambotto* (paired)
5r–6r	"Io sto forte piu che muro"	Coletta di Amendolea	*Barzelletta*
6v	"La poveritate mia voi che te dica"	Coletta di Amendolea	*Strambotto* (paired)
6v–7r	"Guardase ben che non sa"	Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro	*Barzelletta*
7v	"Chi cerca altruj ganare e fandi assay"	Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro	*Strambotto* (paired)

Table IV.4. Literary *tenzone* in Paris 1035, fols. 3v–7v.

consistent level of graphic transparency in the *tenzone*'s visual appearance, which immediately communicates a range of details relevant to its cultural context and lyric interpretation.[90] Indeed, a reader encountering these texts would immediately know who the lyric interlocutors were, the genres in which they were conversing, and the point at which the lyric exchange is concluded. In this way, the copyist circumscribes the *tenzone* visually within the codex as a dialogic lyric unit reminiscent of similar exchanges among communities of poets in the troubadour and *stil novo* traditions of previous centuries.[91] Furthermore, given the musical evidence we have for "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte," the *tenzone*'s introductory poem, as well as the music-oriented genres of the texts that follow, one might imagine that the original context for this full lyric exchange took the form of a musical performance.[92]

Placed early on in the *Cansonero*'s organization, then, this group of poems signals the communal character and interconnectedness, as well as the potential for sung

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[90] On this kind of visual transparency in lyric transcription, see Storey, *Transcription and Visual Poetics*, 96–99; Jennings, *Senza Vestimenta*, 117–18.

[91] On the *tenzone*, see Pedroni and Stäuble, *Il genere "tenzone."*

[92] It is worth noting also that similar exchanges were memorialized in several of the *egloghe* in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. For example, see the lyric dialogues between two shepherds in *Egloga I* (Selvaggio and Ergasto) and *Egloga II* (Montano and Uranio) and among three in *Egloga IX* (Ofelia, Elenco, and Montano) and *Egloga XII* (Barcinio, Summonte, and Meliseo).

performance, of the lyric texts throughout the collection.[93] Due to their repetitive and open-ended structure, for instance, any one of the *strambotti* in Paris 1035 could have been improvised and performed musically, using either a basic melodic formula or a specific tune. In fact, many of them have formulaic and easily improvised patterns in their verse structure that point to a process of oral composition and performance already. One such text is Francesco Spinelli's "Como senza la vita poi canpare" (or "How can you live without life") in which the same opening phrase ultimately concludes each verse with a different infinitive verb, alternating between -are and -ire endings to create the *rima alternata*:

Como sencza la vita poi canpare,	How can you live without life,
Como poy sencza core ben volire,	How can you love without a heart,
Como sencza anima te porray salvare,	How can you save yourself without a soul,
Como poi sencza l'oc[c]hi ben vedire,	How can you see well without eyes,
Como sencza la lingua poi parlare,	How can you speak without a tongue,
Como te poi sensa corpo tenire,	How can you hold yourself up without a body,
Como sencza de te porragiu stare,	How could I stay without you,
Se'ctu may datu l'essere e l'avire.[94]	If [it was] you who gave me [a reason] to be and to have?

The predictability of the formulaic verse structure combined with the flexibility of a rhyme scheme based on two alternating infinitive verb forms would have made this poem quite simple to improvise on the spot, using a basic melodic formula as its musical dress.

As mentioned earlier, the *barzellette* in the collection also have a repetitive improvisatory character that goes beyond the refrain form's inherent performativity. Giovanni Trocculi's "Viva viva e mai non mora," for example, uses the word "viva" twenty-eight times over the course of five four-verse stanzas and a repeated refrain. The first stanza, in particular, emphasizes it by creating an entire eight-syllable line using only that word ("Viva viva viva viva"), and the following rhyme words "diva" and "priva" serve only to bolster its sonorous effect:

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93   In fact, D'Agostino identifies an additional *barzelletta* text attributed to Galeota that could be part of the *tenzone* due to the similarity of its *ripresa* to that of Coletta's "Io inde tengnio," which reads as follows: "Io me trovo fast'achi / in travaglio e in tempesta / De veder la nova festa / dimme che me se da a mmi." See D'Agostino, "Reading Theorists," 47–48. Although the similarity between this refrain and that of Coletta's *barzelletta* is clear, I do not agree with D'Agostino that this poem could have been part of the *tenzone* under investigation here for the simple reason that it is copied much later in the collection on folios 21r to 22v. Given the effort made by the collection's scribe to present the *tenzone* as a cohesive unit, I do not believe that such a text, if it truly belonged to that lyric exchange, would be haphazardly placed thirteen folios after the concluding ".f." indication on folio 7v. Rather, I would argue, it is more likely that "Dimme che me se da a mmi" is a typical formulaic *ottonario* verse that could be easily plugged into an improvisatory *barzelletta* in performance.

94   Paris 1035, fol. 8r.

Viva viva e may non mora	Let live, let live and may she never die
questa mia gentil segnora,	This noble lady of mine,
viva viva viva viva	Let live, let live, let live, let live
questa mia liczadra diva.	This fair goddess of mine.
D'ogni mal sia sempre p[ri]va,	May she be spared every evil,
La biastema vada fora.[95]	May all censure escape [her].

Moreover, many of the verses seem to be made up of common Neapolitan sayings, such as we find in stanza four: "Sia contenta riccha e sana / sta gentil napulitana / viva sta bon [cristi]ana / poi che non vo piu chio mora. —Viva viva e may non mora / questa mia gentil segnora" ("May she be happy, rich, and healthy / This noble Neapolitan lady. / Let her live, this good Christian woman / Since she no longer wants me to die. —Let live, let live and may she never die / This noble lady of mine").[96]

The formulaic and repetitive nature of this *barzelletta*, as well as others throughout the *Cansonero*, suggest a foundational base of memorized patterns and themes that are the bedrock of improvisation.[97] Even as written texts in a carefully constructed manuscript, they require oral performance in order for their sonorous qualities to be heard and appreciated. They may not have extant musical settings, but they are inherently musical texts. The songs for which we do have musical settings are likely those whose popularity transported them far enough to reach the ears of musically literate singers and scribes, and those settings, while fascinating and informative, are likely the result of several transitional stages from their original oral performance to the written medium in which they were recorded.

Ultimately, the *Cansonero napoletano* is an inherently literary object. With its careful script and fascicle structure and its emphasis on rubrics and attribution, it would be foolish to say otherwise. But it is a literary object produced in the midst of an oral performance practice, and as such, it reflects that practice in many of its texts. From a musicological perspective, it might seem unusual for a book with no musical notation to imply a musical sound world beyond it, but it is precisely in such a book that the Neapolitan song tradition found its voice.

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95   Ibid., fol. 31r–v.

96   Ibid., fol. 31v.

97   Scholarship on improvisation and oral composition consistently emphasizes the fundamental role that memory and memorized patterns play in the process of improvised performance/oral composition. See, for example, Lord, *The Singer of Tales*; Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*; Haraszti, "La technique des improvisateurs"; Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music."

Conclusion

Compared with Cantelmo's carefully curated *Cansonero napoletano*, the other two late-Quattrocento collections of Neapolitan lyric—Vaticano latino 10656 and Riccardiana 2752—are significantly less formal in appearance and organization. And yet, each one preserves a substantial and culturally significant body of Neapolitan lyric texts, several of which have extant musical settings.[98] Dating from the 1470s to 1480s, Vaticano latino 10656 preserves 248 lyric texts, which are almost exclusively *strambotti* or *strambotto*-like popular texts.[99] In contrast, Riccardiana 2752, which can be dated slightly later in the 1480s–90s, transmits over 350 individual works, including a varied mix of sonnets, *strambotti*, *barzellette*, *frottole*, madrigals, *canzoni*, *gliommeri*, and more. Each of these manuscripts presents differing goals and functions both from each other and from the earlier collection in Paris 1035, and in this way, each represents a distinct set of aesthetic and cultural priorities. I will conclude the present part, first, with a brief discussion of these two remaining literary anthologies and, then, with a broader comparison of all three manuscripts and the lyric texts they transmit.[100]

Unlike both Paris 1035 and Riccardiana 2752, the codex Vaticano latino 10656 is not wholly dedicated to the preservation of lyric poetry from late-Quattrocento Naples. Rather, the majority of the manuscript's 161 paper folios transmits two of Boccaccio's minor works: the *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia* (fols. 1–100), and the *Filostrato* (fols. 125–65). The choice to pair a collection of anonymous Neapolitan lyric with these two works becomes immediately clear in the scribal rubric at the opening of *Il Filostrato*, which reads:

> While living in the city of Naples, the worthiest and most illustrious orator and poet, the Florentine Giovanni Boccaccio was overtaken by the love of a noble lady. And, as she had left Naples, the aforementioned messere Giovanni, suffering greatly, composed the following little work entitled *Filostrato*.[101]

Both *La Teseida* and *Il Filostrato* are love-themed poems composed during Boccaccio's formative sojourn in Naples from 1327 to 1340, and their placement and treatment within Vaticano latino 10656 demonstrates their continued significance in

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98 These include nine songs in Vaticano latino 10656 and one in Riccardiana 2752. See table IV.1 for more on this.

99 This collection also preserves thirteen *barzellette*, in addition to a small number of other lyric forms. On the more flexible format of the *strambotto* in the Neapolitan lyric tradition, see my discussion in part V.

100 My in-depth study of these two manuscripts will be a subject for future scholarship.

101 Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 125r: "Dimorando el dignissimo oratore et poeta clarissimo messere Joan bochazio fiorentino nela Cita de napolj fo preso del amore de una jentile dopna la quale essendo partita da napolj el predicto messere Joanne molto dolendosi compose la sequente operecta intitulata filostrato."

Neapolitan literary culture over a century later.[102] Boccaccio was, of course, known as a great Tuscan poet, but was drawn to Naples and inspired by Neapolitan culture during an often-idealized bygone era before the arrival of the Aragonese kings. In essence, the manuscript's rubric claims Boccaccio for Naples. And copied between his two most "Neapolitan" works on twenty folios in the middle of the codex (fols. 103–23), the lyric collection in Vaticano latino 10656 is framed, physically and aesthetically, as a communal body of songs likely composed and performed in the city of Naples and following in the tradition of an important literary precursor.

In contrast to the scribal style in Paris 1035, this corpus of nearly 250 *rime* is copied by two different scribal hands in two columns per page, which are to be read vertically from top to bottom starting with the left-hand column and then moving to the right. Furthermore, the individual texts in the collection are presented with a remarkable level of "graphic poverty," with little to no space left to distinguish between individual poems and no attributions or rubrics of any kind, such that each column appears as a continuous stream of lyric verse.[103] Thus lacking visual cues for key elements of genre and meter, Vaticano latino 10656 preserves its texts in a written form that is inherently difficult to read, especially in silence. In order for the collection's lyric works to be interpreted and understood, then, it becomes necessary to extract them from their visual rendering through either oral recitation or sung performance. In this way, Vaticano latino 10656 contrasts strongly with Paris 1035, which would easily allow for silent reading and even mental visualization of a lyric performance due to its ample use of graphic markers. Indeed, in a mere twenty folios, it preserves over a hundred more lyric texts than the *Cansonero* has in over twice that number. The embodiment of spatial and graphic efficiency, Vaticano latino 10656 acts to preserve and transmit a communal lyric corpus in the simplest and most economic way possible.

Riccardiana 2752, on the other hand, is a more varied lyric collection in both its contents and physical characteristics. Consisting of one parchment (fol. 1) and 164 paper folios measuring 28.5 × 15.5 cm, the codex was copied by at least five different scribes, who alternate with some frequency. This collaborative, yet informal approach to the collection's compilation is reminiscent of the way the music manuscript Perugia 431 was produced, as I discussed in part III. The difference here, however, is that in addition to the frequent shifts in scribal hand (and ink color), there is no decoration or illumination of any kind and the copying style is often quite messy. Nonetheless, the collection in Riccardiana 2752 has the highest number of lyric texts out of all three anthologies as well as the greatest generic and stylistic variety. Each text is copied in one central column with one verse per line

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102　On Boccaccio's sojourn in Naples and his role in Trecento Neapolitan culture, see Alfano, D'Urso, and Saggese, *Boccaccio angioino*; Alfano et al., *Boccaccio e Napoli*.

103　On "graphic poverty," see Jennings, *Senza Vestimenta*, 117; O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, 5–6.

throughout, and new poems (or stanzas within poems) are often signaled visually by the use of large capital letters in the left-hand margin.

The codex thus engages some of the same visual cues as Paris 1035, but in a much less formal way. From an organizational standpoint, poems are often grouped by genre, such that the majority of the collection's *strambotti* are concentrated in one portion of the manuscript while *sonetti* appear in another. In addition, like Paris 1035, the collection includes a number of texts that reference contemporary female patrons, as well as a group of five poems written in Castilian. In particular, its inclusion of several prominent references and dedications to the Duchess of Calabria Ippolita Sforza implies a connection to the court at the Castel Capuano in Naples—which, as I discussed in part II, was a central meeting place for urban aristocrats and royal functionaries engaged in the practice of singing vernacular lyric. Riccardiana 2752 nonetheless differs from Paris 1035 in its overarching tendency toward anonymity and its lack of distinction among various genres. As Giovanni Parenti has argued, the lyric collection in Riccardiana 2752 "cannot support distinctions within it, much less if [they are] hierarchical ones," rather it captures the stylistic and linguistic diversity inherent to the literary circles active in late-fifteenth-century Naples, and in particular those connected to the Castel Capuano and Ippolita Sforza in the 1480s.[104]

Even from these brief portraits of Vaticano latino 10656 and Riccardiana 2752, then, it becomes clear that each extant manuscript anthologizing Neapolitan lyric of the late Quattrocento can be understood as a distinct entity, attesting to a specific network of poets and singers in a specific time and place within the kingdom. This point is bolstered by the fact that there are surprisingly few concordances among the three collections (see table IV.5).

Incipit	Genre	Author	Literary Mss	Music Mss
Aiuto aiuto aiuto aiuto	*strambotto siciliano*	Spinelli	Paris 1035, fol. 35r, Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 117v	none
Cor mio volonteruso dura dura	*strambotto siciliano*	none	Paris 1035, fol. 13r, Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 116r	Montecassino 871, pp. 418–19
Da poy ch'a cquisto tempo io so' conducto	*strambotto siciliano*	none	Paris 1035, fol. 27v, Vaticano latino 10656, fols. 118v–119r	none

Table IV.5. Concordances among the three major Neapolitan literary anthologies.

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104 "mal sopporta al suo interno distinzioni, tanto meno se gerarchiche." Parenti, "'Antonio Carazolo desamato'," 123.

Incipit	Genre	Author	Literary Mss	Music Mss
De dolore io me 'nde aucio	*barzelletta*	Coletta	Paris 1035, fol. 2r–v, Riccardiana 2752, fols. 43v–44r	none
Quando per la corsia va passiando[105]	*strambotto siciliano*	Coletta	Paris 1035, fol. 2v, Riccardiana 2752, fol. 44r	none
Io so l'offiso et io cerco la pace	*strambotto siciliano*	none	Paris 1035, fol. 12v, Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 116r	none
Io vivo e moro e grido e non se intende	*strambotto siciliano*	none	Paris 1035, fol. 8v, Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 111r[106]	none
L'umilitate mia serrà bastante	*strambotto siciliano*	Galeota	Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 109v, Riccardiana 2752, fol. 43r[107]	none
Non sia nessuno de li sfortunati	*strambotto siciliano*	none	Paris 1035, fol. 31r,[108] Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 117r	none
Pasco la vita mia solo de pianto[109]	*strambotto toscano*	Galeota	Paris 1035 (2 copies), fols. 7v and 26r, Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 122v, Riccardiana 2752, fol. 106v	none
Schicto per questo non fazate cunto	*strambotto siciliano*	none	Paris 1035, fol. 1r, Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 118r[110]	none
So paczo sagio so malato e sano	*sonetto / strambotto siciliano*[111]	Galeota (?)	Paris 1035, fol. 19v, Riccardiana 2752, fol. 144v	none

Table IV.5 (*continued*).

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105 This *strambotto* is attached to the preceding *barzelletta* ("De dolore io me 'nde aucio") in both manuscripts.

106 The Paris 1035 version has two added lines before the final couplet (ten verses of alternating AB rhymes); the Vaticano latino 10656 version has only eight.

107 There are also concordances for this poem in the two manuscript copies of Galeota's *Canzoniere*, held in Modena and Naples.

108 The Paris 1035 version has stronger Neapolitan tendencies in the language throughout.

109 There is also another poem on a similar theme with similar vocabulary and imagery—"Pasco li forni mei con gran sospiri" (Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 123r)—which seems to be an expanded *strambotto toscano* or a *strambotto caudato* with a rhyming CC couplet (ABABABABCC).

110 In Paris 1035, this poem is connected to the preceding *barzelletta* "Donne crude false rey," whereas in Vaticano latino 10656, it is freestanding. This is a significant piece of evidence that these coda-like *strambotti* could function independently of their paired *barzellette* depending on context.

111 The "sonetto" in Paris 1035 seems to be a *strambotto* structure with an added two tercets following a different rhyme scheme. In addition, the line order is different in each of the two poems in the first eight verses of Paris 1035 and in Riccardiana 2752.

Indeed, out of the hundreds of poems transmitted in these three collections only twelve can be found in more than one of them and only one (Galeota's "Pasco la vita mia solo de pianto") in all three. With only a few exceptions, each manuscript represents a unique cultural and aesthetic profile of Neapolitan lyric. Paris 1035 reflects the activities and tastes of a circle of aristocrats and functionaries surrounding the land-owning baron and Count of Popoli, Giovanni Cantelmo in the 1460s. In its careful approach to copying and rubrication, the resulting collection not only preserves the poetry produced by that group, but also memorializes and legitimizes it as a thoroughly Neapolitan cultural practice worthy of written commemoration. Vaticano latino 10656, on the other hand, is completely anonymous and provides no explicit information regarding a patron or a network of poets in the codex itself. And yet, it seeks to legitimize Neapolitan lyric as well, this time by situating it between the works of the more authoritative literary giant Giovanni Boccaccio. Finally, Riccardiana 2752 is a testament to the variety of song types and linguistic elements prevalent among urban aristocratic circles active at the Castel Capuano in the 1480s. As such, it prioritizes community over individual in its relative lack of authorial attributions and democratic organizational approach in preserving lyric texts.

The three major literary anthologies preserving Neapolitan lyric from the 1460s through 1490s, thus, encapsulate the activities of distinct networks of poet-singers throughout the Kingdom of Naples. Like the musical collections discussed in part III, the compiler(s) for each of these manuscripts clearly have differing priorities and functions. Yet, to some degree, all three have the common goal of self-ethnography—in other words, of legitimizing their own lyric practice by recording it in writing. The fact that these literary collections were produced around the same time as the four music manuscripts discussed in part III can be no coincidence. Starting with the compilation of Paris 1035 in 1468, the written preservation, and even memorialization, of Neapolitan song seems to have become a more common practice in the effort to lend legitimacy and value to the Kingdom's complex aristocratic culture.

Part V

The Italian-Texted Song Repertory in Neapolitan Music Manuscripts of the 1480s and 1490s

Introduction

Writing in praise of Naples ca. 1476, the Florentine humanist Francesco Bandini underscored the central role that singing Neapolitan lyric had in his experience among the Kingdom's intellectual and aristocratic circles, as follows:

> Oh, how many times might I remember those [learned men] . . . conversing about philosophy, the art of eloquence, the most famous stories of the ancients, current events; and, the day having not sufficed, we [were] brought into the house by similar discussions, and **from that point on the rest of the night was almost entirely consumed with harmonious lyric songs, versifying with amazing and limitless sweetness; and drawn in by the pleasure of those [rhymes], another day of harmony quickly went by at our villas, around which [we] stayed for many days in this pleasing work; nor did we return before some pressing necessity called us back to the world.**[1]

There is certainly some hyperbole infused into this encomiastic description, but, in reading it, one cannot deny that out of the many varied and sophisticated intellectual pursuits—including discussions of philosophy, the arts of eloquence, Classical history, and current events—pride of place is nonetheless given to the practice of singing lyric.[2] As is common among such descriptions, Bandini does not provide much detail on the specific features of these "armonie liriche." Rather, he emphasizes the great pleasure taken in engaging in such "pleasing work" and the extended time dedicated to its practice, sometimes for days at a time.

This portrait of lyric song is undeniably reminiscent of the pastoral world represented in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* in which the singing of "harmonious lyric" formed the shepherds' central means of self-expression and interpersonal communication. In particular, it echoes the opening of *Prosa III*, which describes the communal response to a dialogic song performed by Montano and Uranio in *Egloga II*:

> The two shepherds, propelled by [their] singing, had just fallen silent when we all got up from our seats—leaving Uranio behind with two companions—[and] set forth in pursuit of the sheep, who had proceeded on ahead by a significant distance

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1   "O quante volte mi ricorda elli [huomini eruditi] . . . ragionando de' philosophici studii, dell'arti della eloquentia, delle storie famosissime antiche, delle occorrenze moderne, et non sendo bastato il giorno, condottici in casa con simili ragionamenti, et **di poi quivi quasi il resto della nocte consumta con le armonie liriche, verseggiando con soavità mirabile et smisurata, et tratti dal piacere di quelle, d'accordo itone l'altro dì subito alle ville nostre datorno a starne per più giorni in simile piacevole opera, nè prima tornati che alcuna instante necessità alla terra ci rivocasse.**" New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 267, fols. 5v–6r; reproduced in Kristeller, "An Unpublished Description," 301 (emphasis added). For more on Bandini and his letter on Naples, see my discussion in part II.

2   It is also worth noting that this breakdown of intellectual and artistic pursuits is quite similar to what we find in Giovanni Antonio Petrucci's sonnet "Or dove sono andati mo, o Barone" with which I introduced my historical investigation in part II.

under the watch of the most faithful dogs. . . . And so, following them step by step, we went on in the silence of the serene night, discussing the songs [that had been] sung and commending, with great wonder, Montano's new opening [verse], but even more the prompt and secure response of Uranio, for whom sleepiness (despite having just woken up [when] he began to sing) could not have diminished any of [his] praiseworthy merits. Thus, everyone thanked the benevolent gods for having guided them, so unexpectedly, to such great delight.

Già si tacevano i duo pastori dal cantare expediti, quando tutti, da sedere levati, lasciando Uranio quivi con duo compagni, ne ponemmo a seguitare le pecorelle, che di gran pezza avante sotto la guardia de' fidelissimi cani si erano adviate. . . . E così passo passo seguitandole andavamo per lo silenzio de la serena notte, ragionando de le canzoni cantate e comendando maravigliosamente il novo cominciare di Montano, ma molto più il pronto e securo rispondere di Uranio, al quale niente il sonno (quantunque appena svegliato a cantare incominciasse) de le merite lode scemare potuto avea. Per che ciascuno ringraziava li benigni dii, che a tanto diletto ne aveano sì impensatamente guidati.[3]

Just as in Bandini's description, the shepherds' evening is spent listening and responding to the "harmonious lyric" of their companions, who have just engaged in a *tenzone*-like performance that could easily fit within the aesthetic parameters of the *Cansonero napoletano*.[4] Having witnessed the polymetric lyric dialogue sung between Montano and Uranio, the shepherds of Arcadia continue along their path in relaxed pursuit of their sheep. Along the way, they begin to comment at length upon the songs performed—their enthusiastic discussion juxtaposed aurally against the "silence of the serene night." In the course of their discussion, we learn of what skills were valued in such a performance: Montano is praised for his use of invention in improvising new songs, and Uranio, even more so, for his quick-witted responses. Furthermore, after a long night of singing and discourse on song, the shepherds begin to sing once more immediately upon waking the next morning. Singing lyric is more than a pastime in this context. It is the central creative pursuit of a circumscribed network of companions.

Later in *Prosa III*, in describing a pastoral scene painted on the door to the Temple of Pallas,[5] musical performance—and its improvisatory nature—is again underscored as a basic element in the life of any Arcadian shepherd: "Among the shepherds, some milked [their sheep], some sheared wool, others played the *sampogna*, and there were certain [others] who seemed, in singing, to be improvising

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3   Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 92.

4   See my discussion of the *tenzone* in Paris 1035 in part IV.

5   The shepherds arrive at this temple in the context of a feast celebrating Pales, goddess of sheep, shepherds, and livestock. The description of this ancient Roman rite is drawn from Ovid's *Fastorum Libri Sex*. See Vecce's critical notes on this in the apparatus to *Prosa III* in Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Vecce, 92–102 (esp. 93 and 102).

to harmonize with the music of those [playing the *sampogna*]."[6] This ekphrastic description emphasizes the fundamental place of music in the pastoral world as a natural creative practice. Moreover, it provides a portrait of improvised polyphony, wherein the shepherds strive to sing in harmony with their companions playing the *sampogna*. This brief excerpt from Sannazaro's narrative thus creates a record of a record of an oral performance culture. The spontaneous and natural image of shepherds' song, which can be understood throughout *Arcadia* as a metaphor for the performance of Neapolitan lyric, is framed metapoetically within a sophisticated literary ekphrasis. In this way, Sannazaro acts not only to record and preserve the performance of lyric song; he also elevates its practice as one worthy of literary and artistic commemoration.

Throughout Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, lyric song is imbued with both nature and artifice, orality and literacy. Improvised songs of "shepherds" are frequently lost to the ephemerality of oral performance, but on certain special occasions, they can also be transcribed in real time and thus preserved in the written medium.[7] The pastoral world of *Arcadia* may be fictional, but the circumstances surrounding the production and preservation of improvised song portrayed within it are quite real. As this book has shown thus far, rather than being etched into the bark of a tree, the Neapolitan song repertory is copied with varying levels of care onto the plain, unadorned paper of the musical and literary manuscripts from late-Quattrocento Naples. In particular, 106 Italian-texted songs with extant musical settings in the four central Neapolitan music manuscripts discussed in part III provide a unique perspective into the oral song tradition of the period and its relationship to written practice.[8] Taken together, these songs embody a diversity of lyric voices found throughout the Neapolitan soundscape. Indeed, as we have seen thus far, the Kingdom's multifaceted and multicultural creative community engaged in the singing of lyric poetry through a mix of oral and literate means. The extant song repertory reflects that complex oral-literate practice in its wide range of styles and influences, from the local lyric production of Naples to elements of Latin macaronism and Petrarchism, and from simple homophonic textures to complex ornamentation and even contrapuntal polyphony. A significant portion of the Italian-texted repertory in Neapolitan music manuscripts consists of genres and styles more typical of local poetic practice. In contrast, a smaller number of works are connected

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6   "De' pastori alcuni mungevano, alcuni tondavano lane, altri sonavano sampogne, e tali vi erano, che parevano che cantando si ingegnasseno di accordarsi col suono di quelle." Ibid., 95.

7   The shepherds in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* are allegorical figures representing prominent members of the *Accademia Pontaniana* in Aragonese Naples. For more on this, see the introduction to Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Erspamer, 5–33. See also my discussion of this in part I.

8   These manuscripts are those analyzed in part III: Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris, and Bologna Q 16. For a full list of the songs transmitted by these sources and their main identifying features, see the repertoire census in appendix A.

to Italian communities foreign to Naples, such as Florence and Venice. And others still seem to embody the Kingdom's multicultural society by drawing upon Spanish and French elements in both music and text. The varied origins and styles of these songs illustrate the fluidity of cultural exchange in the cosmopolitan city of Naples, and in the Kingdom at large. Indeed, the genres, styles, and network of concordances and associations connected to these works bear witness to a tradition of singing lyric poetry that spanned multiple facets of Neapolitan society.

In this part, I investigate the repertory of Italian-texted song surviving in written sources of both music and poetry in order to identify common musical, poetic, and material characteristics that can be connected to oral practice. The part is divided into two chapters. In chapter 1, I will describe and analyze the aforementioned corpus of 106 Italian-texted songs with surviving musical settings more generally as the primary evidence for this tradition. In so doing, I will first present a brief summary of the sources and material considerations for this study, which are discussed in more depth in part III. I will then draw connections between the notated song repertory and the Neapolitan lyric tradition through a study of genres, subject matter, style, and concordances. Furthermore, I will identify and explain the characteristics of oral practice in the song repertory's music and text, using an approach combining literary, theoretical, and musical analysis. In so doing, I will focus on elements of both musical and lyric texts that signal a connection to the vibrant tradition of oral performance and improvisation in the Kingdom of Naples. In chapter 2, I will address two representative case studies from this repertory in order to provide an in depth understanding of each song's relationship to oral composition and transmission. As these examples (and the larger repertory from which they are drawn) attest, the tradition of vernacular lyric in Naples was developed and cultivated in an environment of "mixed orality" in which both oral and written practices coexist and exert their influence in different ways and to different degrees.[9] Throughout this part, I will reference and discuss individual songs from the larger repertory, which can be found listed in full detail in appendix A.

Chapter 1: The Repertory

The Sources and Material Considerations

The flourishing of Neapolitan lyric in the second half of the fifteenth century coincided with a rise in the preservation of that repertory in written form. In

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9 This term was originally used in Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix*, 8. Blake Wilson has also discussed the state of "mixed orality" in Renaissance Italy in an essay on the improvised song of *canterini*. See Wilson, "*Canterino* and *Improvvisatore*," 295. For a theoretical discussion of "mixed orality," see part I.

fact, extant musical and literary manuscripts from late-Quattrocento Naples reveal a great deal about the oral song tradition of the period and its relationship to written practice. The four Neapolitan music manuscripts from the 1480s and 1490s I have discussed—Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris, and Bologna Q 16—transmit a combined repertory of 106 Italian-texted songs. As I discussed in part III, these sources demonstrate varying degrees of connection to and separation from oral practice in their musical, textual, and material make-up.[10] These four collections preserve a considerable number of Italian-texted songs, a large portion of which are Neapolitan in origin. By comparison, the three major Neapolitan manuscripts predating these sources transmit only twenty-five Italian songs among a predominantly Franco-Flemish corpus.[11] This significant increase in the preservation of Italian-texted repertory overlaps with the burgeoning lyric tradition among Neapolitan humanists and aristocrats, which resulted in three major literary anthologies as well: as discussed in part IV, Paris 1035, Vaticano latino 10656, and Riccardiana 2752.[12] These sources, musical and literary combined, paint a picture of the song repertory's role in the larger context of Neapolitan culture, wherein various artistic and intellectual communities influenced each other over the course of half a century.[13]

Despite this song repertory's considerable size, however, none of the four musical sources under investigation is wholly dedicated to the preservation of Italian-texted works (see table III.3 on page 122). Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431, for instance, are both mixed collections of sacred and secular music from monastic communities within the Kingdom. Seville-Paris and Bologna Q 16, on the other hand, are both French-style chansonniers with a mix of international repertories preserved in smaller numbers—including a diverse mix of Spanish, Italian, German, and untexted repertories. Although this type of repertorial breakdown in music sources is in many ways typical of the period, it does nonetheless point to Neapolitan song's uncertain cultural status within the written medium. This music is frequently found in the space in between, written into the folios or even staves left blank after other more important repertoire has been copied with more care.

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10   These manuscripts are: Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Ms. N 871 (Montecassino 871); Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale "Augusta," Ms. 431 (Perugia 431); Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina, 5-I-43 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. franç. 4379 (Seville-Paris); and Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 16 (Bologna Q 16). For a full discussion of these sources and the previous scholarship on them, see part III.

11   These earlier manuscripts of the 1460s to 1470s include: Escorial B, Berlin K, and Mellon. Among the three manuscripts, only Escorial B transmits any substantial number of Italian-texted songs (twenty-three total), but it is important to note that the majority of these are almost certainly not of Neapolitan origin. For more on the Italian-texted works in these early sources, see the beginning of part III.

12   For a full discussion of these sources and the previous scholarship on them, see part IV.

13   See parts III and IV for a full, detailed discussion of these musical and literary sources and their relationship to oral practice.

The preponderance of this type of material treatment of Italian-texted song, and in particular that of Neapolitan origin, is striking when compared with literary anthologies preserving many of the same or similar lyric texts. Quite unlike their musical counterparts, these sources memorialize a prolific practice of lyric composition and performance in coherent and carefully organized collections. Yet, when those same texts appear in musical sources their cultural value seems to diminish considerably. And so the question arises: given their often-problematic material treatment in music manuscripts, why were these works preserved in writing at all? As we will see in chapter 2 of this part, each song's individual story of performance and transmission responds to that question differently as part of a larger history of singing lyric in Naples that is only partially connected to the written medium.

The Notated Song Repertoire and the Neapolitan Lyric Tradition

Genre

As I have argued, this repertory's origin in oral practice lies in its integral connection to the contemporary Neapolitan lyric tradition, which flourished during improvised performances and gatherings at the ducal court of the Castel Capuano as well as other aristocratic homes throughout the Kingdom.[14] The relationship between this song repertory and local poetic practice manifests itself in their common genres, subject matter, and poetic character. These surviving examples of notated Neapolitan song represent the varied reception and transmission of this repertory among several different communities throughout the Kingdom of Naples.

The 106 musical settings of Italian texts with extant musical settings fall into several main genres, including *strambotti*, *barzellette*, *ballate*, *canti carnascialeschi*, and one *oda*, as well as a number of songs in various undetermined forms. As shown in table V.1, the two most common genres are also the two most frequently utilized in Neapolitan lyric: the *strambotto* and the *barzelletta*. An essential building block of the widely used *ottava rima*, the *strambotto* was an especially popular poetic form in late-fifteenth-century Italy, particularly in Naples.[15] Its structure consists of a

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14   Due to the patronage of Ippolita Sforza and Alfonso II d'Aragona (the Duchess and Duke of Calabria), the Castel Capuano became a central hub of lyric creativity in the last decades of the Quattrocento. See Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*, 71–79. Poetry and music-making were also present in the homes of other land-owning aristocrats, such as Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro and Giovanni Cantelmo (as witnessed by the letters copied in Paris 1035). For more on the historical circumstances and figures surrounding the performance of Neapolitan lyric, see part II.

15   An early example of *ottava rima* can be found in some of Boccaccio's early works, which were well known in fifteenth-century Naples. These include la *Teseida* and il *Filostrato*, which both appear in the same manuscript as a major collection of late-fifteenth-century Neapolitan lyric: Vaticano

single stanza of eight hendecasyllabic lines with the rhyme scheme ABABABAB (*strambotto siciliano*) or ABABABCC (*strambotto toscano*),[16] both of which appear in Neapolitan lyric—though the *strambotto siciliano* is the more common of the two. Musical settings of Neapolitan *strambotti* usually consist of one large section with two main musical phrases, one for each line of a rhyming couplet. In performance, the full musical setting would be repeated four times in order to sing through the entire eight-line stanza.[17]

Genre	No. of songs
Strambotti	42
Barzellette	14
Ballate	7
Canti carnascialeschi	6
Ode	1
Undetermined	32

Table V.1. Poetic genres in the Italian-texted song repertory.

Because of its predictable structure and rhyme scheme, the *strambotto* is particularly well suited to the practice of oral composition and performance. In fact, although the form seems quite fixed in theory, in practice the *strambotti* preserved in both musical and literary manuscript sources of Neapolitan lyric present a certain amount of structural fluidity and variety in such basic elements as line length, number of lines, and rhyme scheme. In both literary and musical sources, for example, the alternating A and B rhyme pattern is often altered slightly or even abandoned

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latino 10656 (see part IV). By the fifteenth century the use of *ottava rima* was much more extensive, including works by Matteo Maria Boiardo, Luigi Pulci, and Angelo Poliziano, to name a few. For a general study of the history and problems surrounding *ottava rima*, see Kezich, "L'ottava rima"; and the essays in Agamennone, *Cantar ottave*.

16   There is some debate about the origins of the *strambotto toscano* versus those of the *strambotto siciliano*. While the more common opinion is that the *strambotto toscano* is a more classical form derived from the simpler *strambotto siciliano*, others have argued that it originates from another poetic form like the *canzone* or the *ballata*. Despite the differences in rhyme scheme, the two are not treated differently in literary manuscripts or in extant musical settings of the Neapolitan tradition. For a summary of the debate on the different origins of the *strambotto toscano*, see Pelaez, "OTTAVA."

17   As stated in the previous footnote, this musical structure would be the same for both the *ottava siciliana* (with a series of four *rime alternate*) and the *ottava toscana* (which punctuates a series of three *rime alternate* with a concluding *rima baciata*). In other words, the final *rima baciata* (or CC rhyme) in the *strambotto toscano* is in no way differentiated musically in the notated settings we have. These final lines would be sung to the same music as the previous six, though it is entirely possible that they could have been subject to additional ornamentation or embellishment in performance.

altogether in what would otherwise be a typical *strambotto* form.[18] "L'omo cresce uno cane et danze amore" from Vaticano latino 10656 exemplifies this tendency in its A rhyme, which is interpreted somewhat freely in the third line with the rhyme word "paxione" to contrast "amore" (l. 1), "l'ore" (l. 5), and "servitore" (l. 7):

L'omo cresce uno cane et danze amore	A
si po lo perde nd'a dolore assai	B
de la soa morte nd'a gran paxi**one**	A¹
tucto lo iorno con tenpesta assai stai	B
et havende pena et guai a tucte l'ore	A
per uno gran tenpo non ce passa mai	B
et io che te so stato servitore	A
si tu me perdi no nde piangerai.[19]	B

The vowel sound on the penultimate syllable remains constant, but the closing consonant of the final syllable deviates from the typical pattern. This slight change to the rhyme scheme is a common occurrence in Neapolitan lyric, but in certain cases, the changes go so far as to transform the rhyme completely, as in the *strambotto toscano* "Quiss'ochi nigri so lo mio desio" also from Vaticano latino 10656:

Quiss'ochi nigri so lo mio desio	A
quiss'ochi nigri che agio tant'amato	B
per s'ochi nigri me cregio morire	A¹
per s'ochi nigri m'esserà lo fiato	B
quiss'ochi nigri quando non le vedo	C
tucto lo iorno nde sto sconsolato	B
quiss'ochi nigri so lo mio conforto	D
si non per s'ochi nigri forria morto.[20]	D

Here, following the consistently repeated formula "Quiss'ochi nigri" / "per s'ochi nigri . . .," the A rhyme changes drastically with each new couplet, first retaining the penultimate syllable vowel "i" from "desio" (l. 1) to "morire" (l. 3) and then departing completely from the pattern with "vedo" (l. 5). In both its reliance on formulaic repetition and its lack of adherence to prescribed rhyming patterns, this poem shows a level of formal consistency and flexibility characteristic of orally composed works.

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18   Scholars may be tempted to view these kinds of inconsistencies as scribal error or textual corruption; however, the frequency and consistency with which it occurs in both literary and musical manuscript sources of the period implies otherwise.

19   Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 109r. All poetic texts in this part are reproduced following a practice of semi-diplomatic transcription, with expanded abbreviations and only minimal punctuation, in order to demonstrate most clearly the elements of structure and rhyme scheme under discussion.

20   Ibid., fol. 108v.

Moreover, the predictable form of eight hendecasyllabic lines can often be truncated to six or expanded to ten or even twelve. In a form constructed from a series of hendecasyllabic couplets, there is always the possibility of adding or subtracting verses as long as they are in multiples of two. For instance, the *strambotto* "Io vivo e moro e grido e non se intende" from Paris 1035 maintains the alternating A and B rhymes for five couplets, rather than four, making a total of ten hendecasyllabic lines.[21] And on the recto side of the same folio, another *strambotto* "Chi fosse quillo che mi canossesse" is composed of only six lines, three couplets with a *rima alternata* pattern.[22]

Finally, in the example of Francesco Galeota's "O maledetta lengua quanto errore," one even finds an eight-line *strambotto siciliano* followed by a two-line *rima baciata* (with a CC rhyme), creating a ten-line *strambotto caudato* with the rhyme scheme: ABABABABCC.[23] The structural malleability of the genre, demonstrated here,

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21   Paris 1035, fol. 8v:

Io vivo e moro e grido e non se intende	A
Leghato e sciolto so libero e preso	B
Sto sempre in guerra e non e chi m'offende	A
Saglio in cielo enterra so descisso	B
E quella che m'occide me defende	A
E da chi m'ama tanto sono hoffeso	B
So schiavo e non me vole ne mme vende	A
O chi m'ascolta e parlo e non so inteso	B
Io hagio argento & horo e non se spende	A
Lo male mio se vede e non m'è criso.	B

22   Ibid., fol. 8r:

Chi fosse quillo che mi canossesse	A
chi non piangesse de la tua ventura	B
qual duro core non se nde dolesse	A
vedendo te conducta ad tal sciagura	B
Iovene bella piu che may vedesse	A
mal maritata per la tua fortuna.	B

23   Riccardiana 2752, fol. 133r:

O maledetta lengua quanto errore	A
e quanta guerra vaj tu removendo	B
quante fatiche lacrime e dolore	A
sensa pietà de te medesima avendo	B
e quanto fuoco [h]ai messo e quanto ardore	A
nulla vertu in te reconossendo	B
cossi te veda de la testa fore	A
como me [h]aj facto attorto andar languendo	B
languendo piu che maj persona viva	C
cossi te veda gia misera e cattiva.	C

The term "strambotto caudato" is used to describe this extended *strambotto* form in Giovanni Parenti's study on the contents and compilation of Riccardiana 2752. See Parenti, "'Antonio Carazolo desamato'."

made it an ideal vehicle for improvised song, which requires both clear formal parameters and pliancy in the execution of its overall construction—qualities also present in the Neapolitan *strambotti* preserved with musical settings, which could be repeated any number of times depending on the number of verses.

The Neapolitan music manuscripts of the late Quattrocento preserve forty-two *strambotti*, as well as at least ten other songs of undetermined form that may be expanded versions of that genre.[24] This group of songs treats typical themes of unrequited courtly love and utilizes vocabulary and poetic formulas common to Neapolitan lyric. Similarly to the poems from literary sources discussed above, these songs often reflect elements of textual fluidity and markers of orality in their line length, number of lines, and rhyme scheme. As is typical in musical sources, the texts included with each song setting are often problematic and any poetic irregularities have generally been seen as cases of scribal error or corruption.[25] In many cases, only a text incipit or the opening hendecasyllabic couplet of the *strambotto* is provided, leaving the rest to be supplied by one's memory (or imagination).[26] But there are some occasions wherein the idiosyncrasies of the poetic text match those found in literary sources and thus may indicate their adherence to a larger phenomenon of oral practice within lyric production.

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24 Many of the unidentified forms in this repertory are works with incomplete texts in Bologna Q 16. About ten of these (mentioned above), are in a large binary structure with no discernible *ripresa* section and include incipits that imply themes of unrequited love. In these cases, each half of the binary form could conceivably correspond to an *endecasillabo* in the rhyming couplet of a *strambotto* setting, but unlike the majority of the *strambotto* settings in this repertory, these two sections are quite elaborate and have multiple smaller melodic units within them. It is entirely possible, then, that these settings are expansions of the *strambotto* genre, perhaps due to a new performance context in instrumental dance or sacred polyphony of the musical chapel. Without full texts, however, such a claim cannot be substantiated. Examples of this phenomenon are: "Fo qui pronare amore" (census no. 32), "Lassare amore" (census no. 50), and "I sideri vostri" (census no. 36).

25 In David Fallows's *Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, for example, the *strambotto siciliano* "Quanto mi dolse la **aliegra** partita" is listed giving precedence to the version in Seville-Paris, fol. 117v, rather than the variant concordance in Montecassino 871, p. 416, which has a slightly different incipit: "Quanto mi dolse la **nigra** partita" (census no. 21). Fallows clearly chooses Seville-Paris because it preserves the more complete version of the *strambotto*, and therefore might also be considered the more authoritative of the two. Yet, neither Seville-Paris nor Montecassino 871 preserves the version of the incipit for this poem present in the literary manuscript Vaticano latino 11255, fol. 10v: "Quanto mi dolse la **crudel** partita." Ultimately, the three textual concordances in musical and literary manuscripts reveal three different, yet equally plausible versions of the song's incipit, each of which was likely in use in the more malleable oral performance tradition. Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 556. For a discussion of text treatment in music manuscripts of the Neapolitan tradition, see part III.

26 In fact, within the Neapolitan song repertory, half of the songs (53 out of 106) include two lines of text or less (often only an incomplete incipit) in their notated musical settings. These can sometimes be completed by consulting concordances in literary manuscripts, but (as discussed in part IV) only about twenty percent of the notated song repertory has literary concordances that might help in providing full texts and genre identification.

The anonymous *strambotto* setting of "Chore cum l'acqua care mie vicine" in Seville-Paris is one such example.[27] A unicum in both musical and literary sources, this song text demonstrates several key aspects of the *strambotto* genre's oral character in its length, rhyme scheme, and formulaic language:

Chore cum l'acqua care mie vicine	A
ché lo mio chore è stato messo in focho	B
Non sa già dove star ne dove zire	A¹
ne a vento posso haver a nullo locho	B
Tenete a mente a 'ste charne meschine	A
Che zenere se farme a pocho a pocho	B

First it spans only six lines in alternating A and B rhymes, just like the truncated *strambotto* "Chi fosse quillo che mi canossesse" described earlier. In *strambotti* of only six verses such as these, the flexibility of the repeated musical setting is key. The poet-singer would simply sing the music three times instead of four. In addition, the A rhyme is altered similarly to what happens in "L'omo cresce uno cane et danze amore." Lines 1 and 5 have the standard ending on "-ine"—"vicine" and "meschine"—while line 3 maintains the vowel sound in the penultimate syllable, but completes the word with a contrasting final syllable, "zire." The poem is built on the typical amorous conceit of the lover's heart being consumed by the fire of love and goes one step further in formulaic wit to incorporate the word "chore" in a homonymic pairing of the first two lines: "**Chore** cum l'acqua care mie vicine / ché lo mio **chore** è stato messo in foco" ("**Run** over with water, my dear neighbors / as my **heart** has been set aflame"). The use of the rhyme word "foco," and its typical pairings of "poco," "loco," and sometimes "gioco," is extremely common in Neapolitan lyric poetry dealing with the all-consuming power of love, and, in fact, that exact set of rhyme-words can be found in the B rhyme of another anonymous *strambotto siciliano* just two folios earlier in Seville-Paris: "Curte ca scurte la mia [vita] trista."[28] Formulaic groupings of rhymes such as this one were likely called upon frequently in the process of oral composition, especially given the structural predictability of the *strambotto* genre.

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27 Seville-Paris, fol. *Sev*120r (census no. 81).
28 Ibid., fol. *Sev*118v (census no. 79):

Curte ca' scurte la mia [vita] trista	A
consumo ly mei giorni a pocho a pocho	B
Gran tempo tosse quea per la pista	A
Anchora non son gionto a lo mio locho	B
Tristo chi perde aspectando n'acquista	A
ch'[h]a pesso vien azar intra lo giocho	B
Larga promessa uo scripta in lista	A
Le curte attese la brusa lo focho.	B

Many of the same points made about *strambotti* can also be made about the four-teen *barzellette* in this repertory. Another of the most popular poetic genres of the Quattrocento, the *barzelletta* has the same formal refrain structure as the *ballata*, but instead of using a mix of 11- and 7-syllable lines, it is composed of solely eight-syllable lines (or *ottonari*) as follows: abba (*ripresa*) cdcd (*piedi*) deea (*volta*) [abba (*ripresa*)].[29] This more complex refrain structure typically results in a ternary musical form with two main sections: the *prima pars* (or A section) repeated for the *ripresa* and *volta* and the *secunda pars* (or B section) for the rhyming *piedi*. Often composed of multiple stanzas, these songs are made to accommodate a large number of verses and, therefore, in performance would require a significant amount of repetition, as well as frequent syllabic text setting—a necessity that, as we will see, typically affects the musical character of the *piedi* section (or the *secunda pars*) in particular.

Similar to the *strambotto*, the *barzelletta* in literary sources is also characterized by a formulaic, yet fluid poetic structure indicative of orally composed works. This is especially noticeable in Paris 1035, which contains a total of forty-three *barzellette*, many of which are connected to thematically-related *strambotti*.[30] One *barzelletta* by De Jennaro, for example, utilizes word repetition and formulaic patterns as a guide for the syntactic structure in lines throughout the poem:

Viva viva viva amore	May love live, live, live
Et chi amando cerca fama	And whoever seeks fame by loving,
Viva chi sequendo ama	May he live, who loves by following [love]
Per chiamarse vencetore	In order to call himself victor.
Viva chi la bandera	May he live, who holds the banner
Tene fermo fi[n] a la morte	Firm up until death.
Viva chi amando spera	May he live, who hopes in loving
Con triunpho intrare le porte	To enter the gates with triumph.
Viva chi ha tale sorte	May he live, who has such fortune
D'amar linda el nobele dama	To love a beautiful and noble lady
Viva chi sequendo ama	May he live, who lives by following [love]
Per chiamarse vencetore.[31]	In order to call himself victor.

Like Giovanni Trocculi's "Viva viva e mai non mora" (Paris 1035, fols. 30v–31r) discussed in part IV, De Jennaro's poem constructs the opening line on a formulaic

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29 For more on the *ballata* and its subsidiary form of the *barzelletta* (also called "frottola" starting in the early sixteenth century), see Palaez et al., "BALLATA." Despite its wide use in the period, the definition of the word "frottola" is still somewhat problematic. For a summary of the various types of *frottole*, see Pelaez and Cesari, "FROTTOLA."

30 For a discussion of this type of *barzelletta-strambotto* pairing and its potential connection to musical performance practice, see part IV.

31 Paris 1035, fol. 10r.

repetition of the verbal exclamation "viva" and then exploits that formulaic rhetorical gesture by using it as the opening of every subsequent odd-numbered line: "Viva chi . . ." (five times, every other line following the initial incipit). In addition, the basic line-length, normally meant to be eight syllables, is varied in a way that is consistent with the flexible rules often attributed to improvised performances.[32] For example, "Viva chi la bandera" has only seven syllables, but it is quickly evened out by the nine-syllable line that follows, "Tene fermo fi[n] a la morte." Ultimately, the two lines together add up to sixteen syllables, even if individually they are irregular in length.

This phenomenon is found also in *barzellette* with notated musical settings, such as "Trista che spera morendo," which ends its opening *ripresa* with another seven- and nine-syllable line pairing in the Perugia version attributed to Pedro Oriola:

Trista che spera morendo	May he be miserable, who hopes in dying
Finire omne dolore	To end all [his] pain.
Trista che may non more	May he be miserable, who never dies
Et va da focu in focu in focu.[33]	And goes from fire to fire to fire.

Here, the seven-syllable line "Trista che may non more" is evened out by the line following, which seems to have been expanded to nine syllables through text repetition in order to make up for the missing syllable in the previous line: "Et va da focu in focu in focu." Breaking rules of both line length and rhyme scheme, the improvisational character of this version is made even clearer when compared with the more conventional rendering of this text found in the Mellon Chansonnier, which presents these two lines as even *ottonari*: "Triste qui jamay non more / va de foco in foco ardendo" (May he be miserable, who never dies / He goes on burning from fire to fire).[34] The uneven line lengths in Perugia 431, then, represent what may have been the result of an oral performance practice in which an alteration to the syllable count in line 3 necessitates an augmentation of line 4.

Oriola's engagement with the *barzelletta* genre in "Trista che spera morendo" is also a compelling example of the ongoing relationship between Spanish musicians

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32 This kind of manipulation of line length has been recognized in ethnomusicological studies of folk song and popular traditions in modern-day Campania. In the genre of the "tammuriata," for example, the song proceeds by a series of hendecasyllabic couplets (similar to the fifteenth-century *strambotto*), which are frequently modified in number of syllables and accent according to the needs of the performance. For more on this, see De Simone, *Canti e tradizioni popolari*, 23–25.

33 Perugia 431, fols. 64v–65r (census no. 96).

34 Mellon, fols. 56v–57r. This is a completely different musical setting of the same text found in Perugia 431, which is attributed in Mellon to Vincenet. It is striking that two different Aragonese chapel musicians of vastly different backgrounds and musical styles set the same Neapolitan poem individually. This example could point to further unrecorded instances of interaction and engagement between members of the musical chapel and the Neapolitan lyric tradition more generally.

and Neapolitan poets in Aragonese Naples.[35] Likely due to the strong similarity between the formal refrain-based structure of the *barzelletta* and that of the Spanish *cançion*, Spanish composers working for the Aragonese chapel seem to have been particularly interested in setting *barzelletta* texts. Five of the fourteen *barzellette* in the notated song repertory have attributions to Spanish composers—Juan Cornago, Pedro Oriola, and Bernhard Ycart—written into the manuscripts themselves: "Moro perche non day fede,"[36] "O vos homines qui transite,"[37] "Pover me mischin dolente,"[38] "Se io te [h]o dato,"[39] and "Trista che spera morendo." Among these, "Moro perche non day fede" is perhaps most representative of the mixing of Italian and Spanish styles in that it presents what seems to be a Neapolitan *barzelletta* with some features more typical of the Spanish *cançion*:

Moro perche non day fede	I die because you grant no faith
Alla pena che m'acora	To the pain that rushes over me.
Io te demando mercede	I ask you for mercy;
Tu me responde senyora	You, my lady, respond to me:
"Mala n'ay cuy te crede"	"Ill befalls any who believe in you."
Tu si prisone captiva	You are a prison, capturer
De mi triste vida e morte	Of my miserable life, and death
Tu si d'est'alma misquina	You are to this wretched spirit
E ben conforte.[40]	Such good solace.

The most striking similarity to the Spanish *canción* is the poem's five-line *ripresa*, which is much more appropriate to a Spanish *estribillo* than to an Italian *ripresa* and very unusual (if not unique) in the *barzelletta* genre.[41] Additionally, there are occasional orthographic features such as "De mi triste vida . . ." (l. 7) and "misquina" (l. 8) that indicate a possible Spanish influence as well. Yet, when we consider the subject matter, tone, and general language of the poem, the Neapolitan soundscape reasserts its voice. The lover begins with a common complaint about

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35 See also my brief discussion of this relationship in the analysis of the text-only copy of "O vos homines qui transitis" in Paris 1035 in part IV.

36 Montecassino 871, p. 275 (census no. 59), attributed to Juan Cornago.

37 Ibid., p. 279 (census no. 70), attributed to Pedro Oriola.

38 Perugia 431, fols. 43v–44r (census no. 79), attributed to Bernhard Ycart.

39 Ibid., fols. 45v–46r (census no. 87), attributed to Bernhard Ycart.

40 This version of the text is transcribed from the copy in Montecassino 871. Seville-Paris (fols. 93v–94r) has the same text and music, but with some significant variations, such as: *secura* instead of *senyora* (l. 4); and *prisone et catena* instead of *prisone captiva* (l. 6). In addition, the Seville-Paris concordance is lacking the attribution to Cornago as well as the final two-line *piede*, both found in Montecassino.

41 There are some *ballate* with five-line *riprese*, known as "ballate stravaganti" (for example, Guido Cavalcanti's "Fresca rosa novella"), but I have not personally seen any examples of a *barzelletta* with a five-line *ripresa*. Nonetheless, it is certainly possible that one exists beyond my level of expertise. On the Spanish *canción*, see Pope and Laird, "Villancico."

his lady's lack of faith in his suffering—a typical theme in both Neapolitan and Spanish poetry of the period. His subsequent request for mercy is then answered coldly with a colloquial truism: "Mala n'ay cuy te crede"—or more vividly in the Seville-Paris version "Mala n'aza cui ti crede" ("Ill befalls any who believe in you").[42] Finally, the two extant *piedi* of the incomplete stanza seem to fall into a typical formulaic pattern in which the first line of each is a strongly-worded invective against the beloved and in favor of death: "Tu si prisone captiva" and "Tu si d'est'alma misquina."

As discussed in part II, Naples was a place of vibrant cultural exchange and creative influence between Spanish and Neapolitan poets and musicians. In both musical and literary manuscripts, evidence of this relationship abounds. Perhaps it is not entirely surprising that Spanish composers would set Neapolitan poems to music, but what if they were composing the text as well as the music or perhaps manipulating a pre-existing text in the course of performance? Spanish-style *barzellette* like "Moro perche non day fede" bear witness to such a possibility, and since we know that Neapolitan poets like Francesco Galeota experimented with writing poems in Castilian[43] there is no reason to imagine that that creative exploration was unidirectional. Indeed, the genres and styles of this song repertory bear witness to the interconnectedness of various creative communities within Neapolitan musical and poetic life, bringing together Spanish- and Neapolitan-born poets and musicians into the creative process and communal activity of singing lyric poetry.

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42   A modern-day Neapolitan would likely say something along the lines of: "Mannaggia chi te cride."

43   Galeota was responsible for performing an Italian rendition of Juan Rodríguez del Padrón's "Siete gozos de amor" for King Ferrante. See Gargano, *Con accordato canto*, 97–98; Flamini, *Francesco Galeota*, 16. Furthermore, as I addressed in a paper presented at Princeton University in April 2018, the *Cansonero napoletano* (Paris 1035) includes several poems in Castilian. Some, like "Triste que serra de mi" (fol. 24v), are attributed to ".F." which likely stands for Francesco Galeota. Others, like "Mengua la chacta la roppera" (fol. 26v) and "A hun que soy aparatado" (fol. 34r–v), are left entirely anonymous. Elmi, "Intersections of Musical and Poetic Practice." For more on the inclusion of Iberian-language poetry and other "ispanismi" in the poetry in Paris 1035, see the introduction to Corti, *Rime e lettere*, xxxv–xli. Riccardiana 2752 also includes a number of poems in Castilian, all of which are unica: "Muore mi vida biviendo" (fol. 49v), "Dura te aglia esin demerce" (fol. 121v), "No es mester quos coprais" (ibid.), "Aquesta tal pena mia lo consiento" (fol. 122v), "Nagliora la giorando Se despida" (ibid.). One of these, "Aquesta tal pena mia lo consiento," is actually in the form of a *strambotto*, but with Castilian language and poetic meter. Examples like this one speak, once again, to the interconnectedness of Italian and Spanish poetic and musical communities at Naples. As Antonio Gargano has stated in his study of Italian and Spanish poetry of the Renaissance, "it is not difficult to imagine that the few Castilian compositions that are found in Neapolitan collections are to be attributed to Neapolitan poets, functionaries of Ferrante, who were protagonists in the rebirth of Neapolitan poetry and who occasionally compromised their own taste in order to compose a few poems in the language of the dynasty they served." Gargano, *Con accordato canto*, 98: "Non è difficile presumere che i pochi componimenti castigliani che si trovano nelle sillogi napoletane siano da attribuire a poeti napoletani, funzionari di Ferrante, che furono protagonisti della rinascita della poesia napoletana, e che occasionalmente cedevano al gusto di comporre qualche poesia nella lingua della dinastia che servivano."

Subject Matter and Style

In *strambotti* and *barzellette* both with and without Spanish influence, the themes addressed in these songs are typically based on courtly love, specifically unrequited love and the lover's plight. In an essay, entitled *Qual stile tra' volgari poeti sia d'imitare*, on the appropriate models for different styles of vernacular poetry, Vincenzo Calmeta[44] summarizes this type of amorous verse, and the motivations behind it, as follows:

> There are some young [poets] who take pleasure in vernacular works, not to develop a compositional style, but so that they might prevail, through these works, in [their] amorous endeavors. To them, I recommend an attention to the works of M. Gio. Boccaccio,[45] which will teach them to adapt their language to a more delicate and ornate speech than that of their native tongue. Oftentimes, such speech allows shrewd lovers to accomplish their goals, as they might say: "Alas, cruel one, can it be true that all my faithfulness can pass away without reward?"; or argue in this way: "Examine with your mind, o traitorous lady, which would give you more glory: either to grant relief to a servant who pines away and is consumed [by love] for you, or rather, in your cruelty, to be the cause of his miserable torture." Similarly, in the case of the beloved's departure: "Oh, pillar of a suffering soul, how can it be possible that I remain living, having forced my miserable heart to follow you entirely wherever you go?"; and thus many other cases, according to specific objectives require one to: throw out exclamation and sighs in good time, recite a little story elegantly when in the company of ladies, be full of clever and witty remarks as the occasion demands it.[46]

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44 Vincenzo Colli (*detto* il Calmeta) was a humanist and literary critic in the late fifteenth century, perhaps most well-known for his biography of the poet-improviser Serafino Ciminielli dell'Aquila. He takes his nickname from the character of learned wisdom ("il pastor solennissimo") named Calmeta in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*. As an intellectual in late-Quattrocento Italy, Calmeta traveled widely and worked at various courts and for various patrons. His friendship with Serafino Aquilano, in particular, made him an authority on issues of vernacular poetry in the period. For more on Calmeta and his writings on vernacular poetry and poets of the late Quattrocento, see Cecil Grayson's introduction to Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, xiii–lxviii; Pieri, "COLLI."

45 Calmeta's reference to Boccaccio as a model for vernacular love poetry is particularly apt for the tradition of Neapolitan lyric. In fact, in a letter from De Jennaro to Cantelmo (Paris 1035, fol. 57r–v), "el limato dire del fiorentin Voccaccio" is referenced as a model of "la nova eloquencia." For more on De Jennaro's style and the influence of Boccaccio, see the introduction to Corti, *Rime e lettere*, xxxix–xli. Furthermore, as discussed in part IV, the major Neapolitan lyric anthology in Vaticano latino 10656 is even bound into a large manuscript containing several of the Boccaccio's early works *La Teseida* and *Il Filostrato*, which the scribe makes sure to note was composed during the Florentine poet's time in Naples (see the opening of *Il Filostrato* in Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 125r). For more on this passage and the construction of the manuscript in general, see the discussion of Vaticano latino 10656 in part IV.

46 Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 20–21. Original Italian: "Alcuni giovanetti sono che pigliano dilettazione delle opere in lingua volgare, non per far stil di componere, ma per potersi nelle amorose imprese con quelle prevalere. Questi tali dico che circa l'opere di M. Gio. Boccaccio doveriano versare, mediante le quali si adatta la lingua ad un parlare un poco più blando e ornato che 'l materno non insegna, che spesse volte poi fa a' acuti amanti loro disegni esseguire;

Calmeta's description outlines not only the types of statements that can be made in these poems, but also the means by which they might be composed. In an instance of amorous pursuit, the poet-singer must be prepared and poised to emit a well-timed complaint paired with a mix of elegance and wit in the lines that follow. In other words, he must be ready to compose his love lament in real time, so that he might succeed in his undertaking by striking the right tones of pain and sympathy at the most advantageous moment. Calmeta was, of course, addressing a more general poetic tradition throughout the Italian peninsula, but his remarks bear compelling relevance to surviving examples, notated and non-notated, of Neapolitan lyric.[47]

Within the notated Neapolitan song repertoire, this kind of rhetorical structure abounds. In fact, the unrelenting suffering of the lover in the face of an indifferent or distant beloved is a paramount image of the amorous songs of Naples. Each one touches upon the issues of lovelorn misery with a similar tone of anguish: "I die because you grant no faith,"[48] "I hear Love with his horrendous shrieking,"[49] "He who desires love is a fool,"[50] "I am disposed to suffer every torment,"[51] "All day, I exhaust myself sighing,"[52] "Pain and torment will be in my heart,"[53] and many others. In addition, the specific topic of the beloved's impending departure, introduced by Calmeta, is also well represented: "How much the bittersweet departure pains me,"[54] "How much this cruel departure pains me,"[55] and "O cruel parting,"[56] among others.

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come sarebbe a dire: 'Ahi, crudele, sarà il vero che tanta mia fede senza rimunerazione possa trapassare?'; overo argumentar in questo modo: 'Essamina con la mente, perfida, qual ti sarà più gloria, o l'avere usato atto pietoso soccorendo un servo che per te si strugge e consuma, o ver con la tua crudeltà del suo miserabile strazio esser cagione.' Medesimamente, essendo per partir la sua amata: 'Deh! sostegno della dolente anima, come sarà possibile ch'io resti vivo, essendo sforzato il mio misero cuore per tutto dove anderai seguitarti?'; e così molte altre particolarità, secondo i proposti richiedono: buttare esclamazione e sospiri a tempo, recitar qualche novelletta con eleganza quando in circoli di donne si ritrova, esser pieno di motti arguti e faceti secondo che l'opportunità domanda."

47 On Calmeta's career and works as a literary critic, see the introduction to ibid., xiii–lxviii.

48 "Moro perche non day fede" (census no. 59).

49 "Io sento amore con sue orrende stridor" (census no. 41).

50 "Foll'è chi vole amare" (census no. 33).

51 "Sufferir so disposto omne tormento" (census no. 93).

52 "Lo giorno mi consumo suspirando" (census no. 55).

53 "Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento" (census no. 89).

54 "Quanto mi dolse la nigra/aliegra partita" (census no. 80).

55 "Quanto mi dolse sta crudel partita" (census no. 81). This piece has an almost identical incipit to the previously mentioned song, and both are copied in compact choirbook format on the same folio side in Montecassino 871, p. 416. The musical settings are clearly different, but they have a number of similarities as well, including mode, cleffing, overall length, and melodic style. In this way, they seem to be two songs within a specific type: the parting lament.

56 "O partita crudele" (census no. 66).

In a few cases, the topic of unrequited love is also approached with more rhetorical complexity, going beyond the simple precepts of the previously described style. "O vos omnes qui transitis in pena," for example, is a macaronic *barzelletta* that mixes lines from a Tenebrae responsory for Holy Saturday into the larger texture of a Neapolitan love lament. As discussed in part IV, the opening *ripresa* and each subsequent stanza are introduced with a line from the antiphon—"O vos omnes qui transite in pena," "Actendite e videte, "Miserere mey piange"—creating a sense of constancy and devotion in the lover's suffering. Francesco Galeota's "L'ucello mi chiamo jo perdo jornata,"[57] on the other hand, implies the lover's hopelessness through a series of pastoral metaphors, one for each hendecasyllabic couplet: a bird who spends the day searching fruitlessly for food, a bat who stays hidden and afraid, a kite that flies aimlessly, and a ship abandoned to the elements with no sail and no course. These rhetorical techniques approach the suffering caused by love through different means, calling upon sacred imagery or nuanced metaphor to engage the topic while still maintaining a tone of familiarity.

In another example, the *strambotto toscano* "Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma" in Perugia 431 borrows its incipit as well as other text later in the poem from Petrarch's sonnet, *Rvf* no. 185:

Strambotto (anonymous)[58]

Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma
in selva ognor me fuge a doglia acerba
ciascun de nocte in gran tenebra **aluma**
salvo che a me fuge questa superba
ogne cor indulcisse el mio consuma
et omne ira et stenpro in me inserba
et quanto piu la segho piu me struge
che reti allei non vale che sempre fuge

Sonnet (Petrarch)[59]

Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma
al suo bel collo, candido, gentile,
forma senz'arte un sì caro monile,
ch'ogni cor addolcisce, e 'l mio consuma:

forma un diadema natural ch'**alluma**
l'aere d'intorno; e 'l tacito focile
d'Amor tragge indi un liquido sottile
foco che m'arde a la più algente bruma.

Purpurea vesta d'un ceruleo lembo
sparso di rose i belli homeri vela:
novo habito, et bellezza unica et sola.

Fama ne l'odorato et ricco grembo
d'arabi monti lei ripone et cela,
che per lo nostro ciel sí altera vola.

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57   "L'ucello mi chiamo jo perdo jornata" (census no. 56).
58   There are two versions of this song back-to-back in Perugia 431, one for four voices (fols. 50v–51r) and one for three voices (fols. 51v–52r)—census nos. 83a and 83b.
59   Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, 1:851–54.

The matching text emphasized here reveals that, in fact, two full *endecasillabi* are borrowed wholesale from Petrarch's original poem and the Petrarchan rhyme-word "alluma" is also reused in the third line of the anonymous *strambotto*.[60] This is a typical way of reutilizing Petrarch in a new context, which resembles but also departs from the original sonnet while still fitting clearly within the theme of unrequited love that is often present in the Neapolitan lyric tradition.[61] The Neapolitan version takes the original concept of the "fenice de l'aurata piuma" ("gold-feathered phoenix") and equates it with the "donna superba" ("superb woman") who constantly seeks to escape ("che sempre fuge"). This cuts down the nuanced metaphor in Petrarch to a blunt figure of the cruelty of unrequited love. By the last two decades of the Quattrocento, Petrarch's influence had certainly arrived in the Kingdom south of Rome.[62] Yet, in the case of "Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma," his words served only to further the goals of Neapolitan voices rather than to act as a true poetic model.[63]

Furthermore, in his essay on vernacular poetry, Calmeta goes on to describe a more sophisticated poetic style than the one summarized earlier as follows:

> Some others, who are of a more elevated intellect, will not be satisfied with the previously mentioned styles, but rather would wish to endeavor to reach a style and, if possible, as high a level of perfection as one can in this discipline. To these, I therefore recommend an adherence to the best of the vernacular poets, choosing to imitate that which is most pure and best composed. And above all Petrarch [is] of the foremost value, since he is so open and as light-hearted as is fitting, and he is of a quality that [shows] that one does not only benefit from him, but that he [also], with delight, allows himself thoroughly to be loved.[64]

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60 Fallows notes the textual borrowing in this *strambotto*'s incipit from *Rvf* no. 185, but he specifies that the "text shares only its first line with Petrarca's sonnet" and consequently seems to have missed the Petrarchan quotations in lines 3 and 5 of the *strambotto* (from lines 4 and 5 of the sonnet). See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 558. In addition, Michael Hernon's study on the Italian-texted pieces in Perugia 431 makes no mention at all of the borrowing from Petrarch in his analysis of "Questa fenice." Hernon, "Perugia MS 431," 202–5.

61 On the reception and influence of Petrarch in Quattrocento Italy, see Dionisotti, "Fortuna del Petrarca."

62 The first editions of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* were published in Naples by Arnaldo di Bruxelles in 1477.

63 According to Corti, there were two forms of Petrarchism in late-Quattrocento Naples, one that was faithful to Petrarch's language as a true poetic model and one that was freer in its use of the Florentine poet's words. She goes on to state that the freer version was the more common in Naples and that at times it seems like the contaminations in Petrarchan-style poetry of Naples were purposeful. The example here of "Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma" seems to fit that trend perfectly. See the discussion of "Il Petrarchismo a Napoli" in the introduction to Corti, *Rime e lettere*, xli–lxiii.

64 Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 22–23. Original Italian: "Alcuni altri saranno di più elevato ingegno, che non solo alle predette cose staranno contenti, ma vorranno essercitarsi per fare stile e per giungere, se possibile è, a quel supremo grado di perfezione che in questa facultà si possa estendere. Io adunque a questi tali persuado che a' poeti volgari che sono ottimi si voglino aderire,

Here, Calmeta presents a style of poetry characterized by perfection and purity, but also by openness and delight when the situation warrants it. In such a style, Petrarch is, unsurprisingly, the ideal model, as a vernacular poet of the utmost elegance and grace. While Petrarchism is certainly present in the works of Neapolitan poets, it is not prevalent in the texts most often set to music, and even in cases where it is (like "Questa fenice"), it is not treated with nearly the reverence that Calmeta would have required. Instead, the Neapolitan song repertory is composed of a wealth of songs that favor frank and vivid imagery of the lover's suffering, often punctuated by effective rhetorical devices like assonance and simile. In cases where imitation or borrowing occur, the borrowed text is folded into the more familiar tone of the lover's lament in a way that capitalizes on the model's cultural significance while maintaining the local Neapolitan style. With or without musical setting, these works consistently engage themes of unrequited love in no uncertain terms, once again demonstrating the strong affinity between musical and literary sources and conventions in the vernacular song of the period.

Literary Concordances

The connections described thus far between the Italian-texted songs in the four central music manuscripts and the Neapolitan lyric tradition are bolstered further by the significant number of concordances these songs have with poems preserved in several major literary manuscripts from Naples. Among the 106 songs under investigation, seventeen of them have concordances with Neapolitan literary manuscripts, including but not limited to those discussed in more depth in part IV: Paris 1035, Vaticano latino 10656, and Riccardiana 2752, as well as Modena α.M.7.31, Naples BNN XVII.1, Vaticano latino 11255, and Cappon. 193. Table V.2 lists the songs that have these concordances:

No.	Incipit	Musical sources	Literary sources
49	La vide de culin no dura pas tot iors	Montecassino 871	Paris 1035
11	Amor tu non me gabaste	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Pix	Paris 1035
70	O vos homines qui transite	Montecassino 871	Paris 1035

Table V.2. Musical repertory with concordances in Neapolitan literary manuscripts.

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eleggendo ad imitar quello che più candido e meglio composto sia, e sopra tutti il Petrarca ne' primi princìpi, per esser tanto aperto e giocondo quanto si convenga, et è di qualità che non solo da lui si può pigliar giovamento, ma con diletazione sommamente si lascia amare."

No.	Incipit	Musical sources	Literary sources
68	O rosa bella	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris, Escorial B, Berlin K, Dij, Cord, Pix, Pavia 362, Porto714, Trent89, Trent90, Trent93, VatUrbLat1411, Wolf, etc.	Giustinian, *Comincia el fiore*, Paris 1035, Paris 1069
38	In tempo che facia lo sacrificio	Montecassino 871	Vaticano latino 10656
80	Quanto mi dolse la nigra/aliegra partita	Montecassino 871 ("nigra"); Seville-Paris ("aliegra")	Vaticano latino 11255 ("crudel")
10	Amor che to fat hio che me day guerra	Montecassino 871	Vaticano latino 10656, Vaticano latino 11255, Vaticano latino 5159
19	Cor mio volon-turiuso dura dura	Montecassino 871	Paris 1035, PesOliv54, Vaticano latino 10656
69	O tempo bono e chi me ta levato	Montecassino 871	Modena α.M.7.31, Naples BNN XVII.1, Vaticano latino 10656
89	Sera nel cor mio doglia et tormento	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris, Bologna Q 16	Riccardiana 2752, Vaticano latino 11255, *Epigrammata Cantalycii*
33	Foll'è chi vole amare	Perugia 431	Vaticano latino 10656
37	In eternu voglio amare	Perugia 431; same text, different music (attributed to M. Cara): Florence BR 230, Florence BR 337, Petrucci Frottole I	Cappon. 193
86	Se fosse certo che piu non se amasse	Perugia 431, W243	Vaticano latino 10656
42	Io sento donne banda suspirare	Perugia 431	Vaticano latino 10656
56	L'ucello mi chiamo jo perdo jornata	Perugia 431, Paris 676, FN Panciatichi 27, Modena α.F.9.9 (same C, different T, Ca, Cb)	Modena α.M.7.32, Naples BNN XVII.1, *Opere nuove dello altissimo poeta fiorentino*
91	So stato nel inferno tanto tanto	Seville-Paris, W243	Vaticano latino 10656, Vaticano latino 11255, *Epigrammata Cantalycii*
92	Sospirar cor mio po che perdisti	Seville-Paris	I-Mac A.I.4, Vaticano latino 10656

Table V.2 (*continued*).

The eleven *strambotti*, four *barzellette*, one *ballata*, and one popular song listed here are, in certain ways, representative of the repertory as a whole. They are largely in genres common to Naples and all but two ("O tempo bono" and "La vida de culin") treat topics of unrequited love. In addition, while most are anonymous, two can be attributed to Neapolitan poet and aristocrat Francesco Galeota ("O tempo bono" and "L'ucello mi chiamo")[65] and another ("O rosa bella") to early-Quattrocento Venetian statesman Leonardo Giustinian.[66] The nine concordances with texts in Vaticano latino 10656, in particular, show a profound affinity between musical and literary production in the Kingdom of Naples. These songs include eight *strambotti* (including one by Francesco Galeota) and one *barzelletta* situated throughout the collection. Two *strambotti*, "Cor mio volunturiuso dura dura" and "Son stato nel inferno tanto tanto," engage the popular rhetorical device, found frequently in Neapolitan lyric, of repeating the final rhyme word to fill out the hendecasyllabic line. In contrast, Francesco Galeota's "O tempo bono e chi me t'[h]a levato," copied twice in two different fascicles within the twenty folios that preserve Vaticano latino 10656's Neapolitan lyric collection, takes on a more sophisticated and philosophical tone in its discussion of the passage of time.

Moreover, as discussed in part IV, the five songs with concordant poems in Paris 1035 reveal how the varied musical performance traditions in Naples may have infiltrated poetic practice. In a manuscript that encapsulates Neapolitan poetic production through the use of local vernacular language and popular poetic forms, the presence of songs like "O rosa bella" and "La vita di colino" is rather unexpected. "La vita di colino," for example, appears as a Neapolitan popular song in Paris 1035, but in its musical settings in Montecassino 871, it has a distinctly French character.[67] And the famous *giustiniana* "O rosa bella" is indisputably a non-Neapolitan song, which nonetheless is transmitted in five music manuscripts connected to Naples (Escorial B and Berlin K from the 1460s; and Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, and Seville-Paris from the 1480s and 1490s) in addition to its even more unusual placement in Giovanni Cantelmo's *Cansonero napoletano* (Paris 1035).[68] Indeed, regardless of the origins of a song like "O rosa bella," its dissemination throughout the Kingdom of Naples was clearly widespread. Together with several Iberian-language texts preserved in Paris 1035, these poems represent the larger musicality

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65 Both "O tempo bono" and "L'ucello mi chiamo" are preserved in the two extant copies of Galeota's *Canzoniere*: Modena α.M.7.32 and Naples BNN XVII.1.

66 "O rosa bella" is one of the most famous *giustiniane* of the Quattrocento for both its text and its musical setting, which exists in multiple versions in manuscripts from all over the Italian peninsula. The list of musical concordances in table V.2 is only a partial list of the manuscripts containing the same versions as Montecassino 871 and Perugia 431. For a full list of concordances, see Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 545–50.

67 See part IV, for a more in-depth discussion of the textual status of "La vita di colino" in Paris 1035 compared with its rendering in Montecassino 871.

68 Again, see part IV.

of the complex Neapolitan soundscape, just as do the numerous non-Neapolitan songs in the notated musical repertory.[69]

As discussed in part IV, the texts with extant musical settings in manuscripts like Vaticano latino 10656 and Paris 1035 (as well as other literary manuscripts in this tradition) are not set apart in any material way from the other poems in the collection.[70] In this way, the status of these songs in non-notated manuscripts seems to imply the existence of a much larger repertory of song texts than what we have in musical settings: any *strambotto* and any *barzelletta* within these sources is a viable option for musical performance. Yet, only a handful of those performances were ultimately recorded with both music and text. Similarly, in opposing cases of musical texts lacking concordances in literary manuscripts, the poems themselves are still composed of typical Neapolitan genres and echo common phrases and themes found frequently in the verses of Neapolitan lyric. Musical and literary manuscripts together provide written records of the practice of singing lyric poetry in late Quattrocento Naples both with and without notated musical settings. Indeed, this study's central musical repertory is not only related to the corresponding Neapolitan lyric tradition, but seems also to be interconnected with it in both performance and transmission.

Musical Concordances

One last significant factor in this repertory's connection to the oral practice of singing lyric poetry is found in its concordances with other musical sources, both Neapolitan and non-Neapolitan. The manuscript and print concordances that bear witness to the written transmission of this repertory reveal a tradition that, for the most part, seems to have had limited written circulation, even within its immediate surroundings in the Kingdom of Naples. In fact, out of 106 Italian-texted songs in Neapolitan music manuscripts, 63 of them are unica. These include numerous examples that fit within the Neapolitan idiom described above, such as the

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69   As stated in footnote 43, the *Cansonero napoletano* (Paris 1035) includes three poems in Castilian: "Triste que serra de mi" (fol. 24v), "Mengua la chacta la roppera" (fol. 26v), and "A hun que soy aparatado" (fol. 34r–v). For more on the inclusion of Iberian-language poetry and other "ispanismi" in the poetry in Paris 1035, see the introduction to Corti, *Rime e lettere*, xxxv–xli.

70   There are some texts in one of the copies of Galeota's *Canzoniere* (Naples BNN XVII.1 in the hand of court humanist Gianmarco Cinico), which are indeed labeled "Cansone de canto" (fols. 36r–37v) or "Cansone per canto" (fols. 177r and 178r), as well as a section of poems labeled "Strambotte cantati con la lira per Messere Francisco Galioto" (fols. 218v–220v). None of these texts have extant musical settings, however; and the texts in the manuscript that *do* have notated musical settings are not given any special indications or marginal notes at all, thus demonstrating conclusively that the lack of a special singing instruction by no means precludes the fact that these poems were sung. For more on this phenomenon, see the end of part IV.

aforementioned Petrarchan *strambotto* "Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma,"[71] which is preserved only in Perugia 431 in both three and four-voice versions, as well as other *strambotti* like "Chore cum l'acqua care mie vicine"[72] and "Tanto ha ch'io t'[h]o contato li mei guay."[73] In some cases, the musical setting is an unicum, but the poem itself is not, as in the case of Galeota's "O tempo bono e chi me t'[h]a levato"[74] and the anonymous "Cor mio volunturiuso dura dura."[75] Songs like these are clearly well-known and carefully preserved in literary sources, but their preservation in only one notated musical manuscript implies a fairly limited circulation of their musical settings through written transmission specifically. Rather, it would seem that many of these unica were known primarily through oral means and were recorded in writing due to any number of unusual circumstances in their fortune.

Moreover, even in cases where the songs are preserved in more than one source, there is much less repertorial overlap among the four central Neapolitan manuscripts than one might initially expect. Among the forty-three songs that do have concordances, only sixteen can be found in two or more Neapolitan music sources from the last two decades of the Quattrocento (see table V.3):

Musical concordances types	No. of songs
Songs with concordances	**43**
Concordances with early Neapolitan Mss (1460s–70s)	6
Concordances with central Neapolitan Mss (1480s–90s)	16
Concordances with non-Neapolitan Mss	35
Unica	**63**

Table V.3. Concordance data for the notated Neapolitan song repertory.

This fairly limited local circulation in writing once again attests to the likelihood that these songs were disseminated via oral performance much more easily and efficiently that they might have been in writing.[76]

In contrast, the much larger number of thirty-five concordances with non-Neapolitan music manuscripts implies that written preservation was necessary to the transmission of this repertory outside the Kingdom of Naples. Musical settings might have been shared in letters or small fascicles carried by emissaries or

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71   Perugia 431, fols. 50v–52r (census nos. 83a and 83b). See my previous discussion of this song above.
72   Seville-Paris, fol. 120r (census no. 17).
73   Montecassino 871, p. 260 (census no. 94).
74   Ibid., p. 421 (census no. 69).
75   Ibid., pp. 418–19 (census no. 19).
76   Regarding this possibility, see the discussion of manuscript evidence in the case study on "Zappay lo campo" (census no. 106) in chapter 2 of this part.

Song concordances	No.	Incipit (census no.)	Neapolitan Mss
Two of the four central Neapolitan Mss	12	Amor tu non me gabaste (7)	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
		Piangendo chiamo surda et crudele morte (8)	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
		Moro perche non day fede (10)	Montecassino 871, Seville-Paris
		Non sia gyamay [Madame trop vos me spremes] (18)	Montecassino 871, Bologna Q 16
		Quanto mi dolse la ni-gra/aliegra partita (21)	Montecassino 871, Seville-Paris
		Vedo che fortuna me con-trasta (25)	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
		Correno multi cani ad una cazia (31)	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
		La morte che spavento de felice (57)	Perugia 431, Seville-Paris
		La martinella (70)	Seville-Paris, Bologna Q 16
		Terribile fortuna (91)	Bologna Q 16, Seville-Paris
		La bassa castiglya [Falla con misuras] (93)	Bologna Q 16, Perugia 431
		Lent et scolorito [Elend du hast] (103)	Bologna Q 16, Perugia 431
Three of the four central Neapolitan Mss	3	O rosa bella (13)	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Seville-Paris
		Gentil madonna [Fortuna las] (17)	Montecassino 871, Bologna Q 16, Seville-Paris
		Fortuna desperata (44b)	Perugia 431, Bologna Q 16, Seville-Paris
All four central Neapolitan Mss	1	Sera nel cor mio doglia et tormento (30)	Montecassino 871, Seville-Paris, Bologna Q 16, Perugia 431
Total	**16**		

Table V.4. Concordances in the four central Neapolitan manuscripts of the 1480s to 1490s.

diplomats between Naples and other major cultural centers, such as Florence and Ferrara. Moreover, as is evident from table V.4, several of the songs that do have Neapolitan musical concordances are clearly not Neapolitan in origin, such as "La martinella" and "Lent et scolorito" in the two-manuscript category and "O rosa bella," "Gentil madonna," and "Fortuna desperata" in the three-manuscript category. In cases such as these, without a local oral practice to spur them forward, writing would have been a necessary means of preservation. In contrast, the only song preserved in all four of the central Neapolitan manuscripts, "Serà nel cor mio

doglia et tormento," is almost certainly of Neapolitan origin, but the documentation surrounding its transmission and preservation implies that it had been in circulation for a significant period of time prior to the creation of these manuscript records.[77]

Perhaps the strongest concordance-based evidence for this repertory's connection to orality is the large number of *cantasi come* settings in the *lauda* tradition. As listed in table B.5 in appendix B, nineteen of the songs under investigation have concordances in *lauda* sources as *cantasi come* settings, nearly one-fifth of the overall repertory.[78] These works span multiple genres and styles throughout the Neapolitan song repertory. Some, like "O rosa bella" and "Fortuna desperata," are some of the biggest hits of the fifteenth century, and yet, others like "Quanto più li ochi mei" and "Ben finirò questa misera vita" are unica, known only in one musical manuscript source with no literary concordances. How else could such songs be called upon in the singing of *laude* if not for the memories of those taking part in their performance?

The Italian-texted works in Neapolitan music manuscripts of the 1480s and 1490s have deep connections to the oral practice of singing lyric poetry throughout Aragonese Naples. The genres, subject matter, and general tone of the texts set to music bear a striking resemblance to those of the Neapolitan lyric tradition, as do the more unusual poetic characteristics that are so telling of the process of oral composition. In addition, the literary and musical concordances for each song, as well as the *cantasi come* settings when present, indicate that a great deal of this repertory's transmission likely relied more on memory and performance than on the production of written exemplars. Yet, the main evidence we now have is, strangely, in the form of written exemplars, records of an oral practice. Understanding those records and identifying the traces of orality within them requires a multifaceted approach, which will be the subject of the next chapter of this part.

Finding Traces of Orality in Written Sources

Characteristics of Oral Practice

Within this corpus, several key characteristics may indicate a given song's connection to oral practice. But before getting to specifics, I will define what I mean by characteristics of oral practice. In addressing the relationship between oral and

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77   For more on "Serà nel cor mio," please see the full-length case study of this song in chapter 2 of this part.

78   The prevalence of Neapolitan songs in *cantasi come* indications has been noted by Wilson in his previous work on the *lauda* and singing traditions in Renaissance Florence: Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 126–37.

written musical traditions, Nino Pirrotta has compared our knowledge of music to an iceberg: most of what once existed is now submerged under water, obscured from view, while only a small fraction remains above the surface, preserved in written sources.[79] Though this may seem discouraging, Pirrotta never ceased to look for traces of oral practice in written records, and he was certainly not alone in doing so. In fact, understanding examples of past oral practice in written sources has been a goal of numerous scholars of literature and music for much of the last century.[80]

The scholarship on this topic is wide and varied, dealing with multiple facets of oral practice and its relationship to the written tradition in both musicology and ethnomusicology (among other fields).[81] The most salient issue that arises from these studies is that oral performance and improvisation are compositional acts happening in real time on the basis of a memory-bank of predetermined themes and formulas. In fact, memory plays a fundamental role in the act of oral composition. In order for a melody to be of use to a performer, its musical make-up must be simple enough that it can be readily called forth in the moment. Orally composed melodies require an economical approach in their composition; they often move in predominantly conjunct motion, have a limited pitch range, and include predictable patterns and cadential formulas that a skilled singer could easily recall and build upon in performance. In short, as William Prizer has asserted, the melody should have "simplicity and redundancy."[82] The songs under investigation here adhere to that ideal to varying degrees.

Furthermore, as examples of lyric performance, these works should be studied not just for their music, but also for their text. Scholars of both music and literature have recognized that oral traditions rely upon clearly defined genres and forms.[83] In the Neapolitan song repertoire, the two most common poetic genres set to music

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79 Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music," 72–73.

80 A sampling of those studies includes Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*; Pirrotta, "The Oral and Written Traditions of Music"; Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition"; Prizer, "Games of Venus"; Van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*; Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*; Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*; Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*; Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*; Nettl, "On the Concept of Improvisation"; Nettl and Russell, *In the Course of Performance*; Solis and Nettl, *Musical Improvisation*; Bent, "'Resfacta' and 'Cantare Super Librum'"; Canguilhem, "*Ad imitationem sortisationis*"; Canguilhem, "Monodia e contrappunto"; Canguilhem, "Singing Upon the Book"; Schubert, "Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance"; Schubert, "From Voice to Keyboard"; Wilson, *Music and Merchants*; Wilson, "Madrigal, Lauda, and Local Style"; Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*; Wilson, "'Transferring Tunes and Adjusting Lines'"; Wilson, "*Canterino* and *Improvvisatore*"; Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*.

81 Other fields particularly influenced by studies of orality and improvisation include: literature, folklore, performance practice, and history. See part I for a full literature review.

82 Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition," 6.

83 Foremost among these is Albert Lord in his seminal study on oral epic song, Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, which takes its starting point from the work of his mentor Milman Parry. Leo Treitler

are the *strambotto* and the *barzelletta*. As discussed earlier in this chapter, these are also the two genres most frequently utilized in contemporaneous lyric poetry. More importantly, the overall structure of each piece generally reflects that of the poetic text, and the poems themselves often draw upon common formulas and themes in their verse structure that could be easily composed and varied in performance. Along with the material considerations outlined earlier, these musical and textual features bear witness to the oral tradition even as it is fixed in Neapolitan manuscripts.

Traces of Orality in the Neapolitan Repertory

The musical style most prevalent in the 106 Italian-texted songs under investigation here is, indeed, characterized by simple melodic structures and repetitive forms. In fact, the structures associated with the two most prominent poetic forms, the *strambotto* and the *barzelletta*, are highly dependently upon repetition of large-scale structural units (either of the whole piece, as in the *strambotto*, or of large sections within the piece, as in the *barzelletta*). On a fundamental level, then, repetition is inherently necessary to the union of musical and poetic structures, even if the full poetic text is not always included in the musical sources. And because many of these poems require a great deal of text to be expressed in a short span of time, the resulting melodic lines are often of the simplest kind.

An in-depth assessment of the repertory as a whole shows certain common trends throughout. These include: short melodic phrases, formulaic openings and cadential patterns, repeated pitches often in recitation-like patterns, series of repeated pitch dyads, homophonic textures, and a prevalence of parallel motion (especially between the Cantus and Tenor voices). The limited musical material in this repertory is likely a key feature of its success in oral performance. In particular, many of the *strambotti* are composed of two relatively simple melodic lines. The first is typically the shorter of the two, with a formulaic opening (often in canzona rhythm)[84] that is briefly expanded before almost immediately moving into a common cadential pattern (often made up of a descending scalar passage and a suspension figure). A representative example of this type of line is found in the anonymous *strambotto* "Per poco tempo ch'io so' stato fora" in Montecassino 871 (see example V.1).[85] Here in the Cantus line, the typical opening canzona rhythm is halved in duration (semibreve—minim—minim, instead of breve—semibreve—semibreve) and then followed by an additional repeated pitch dyad that pushes the melodic line up to

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was particularly influenced by the work of Lord and Parry in his study of Gregorian chant—see Treitler, "Homer and Gregory"; and on a larger scale, Treitler, *With Voice and Pen*.

84　Out of 106 songs, fifty-two include some kind of opening canzona rhythm at a structurally important point within the work.

85　Montecassino 871, p. 259 (census no. 75).

its peak on the mode final C. Once the melodic apex is reached, the line descends in a typical ornamental scalar pattern, which concludes with a suspension figure punctuated by an under-third cadence on the fifth of the mode. In the meantime, the tenor provides a melodic pairing to the Cantus while the lower voices function as a simple homophonic accompaniment to the melody.

Example V.1. "Per poco tempo ch'io so stato fora," opening melody.

Example V.2. "Per poco tempo ch'io so stato fora," second half.

As is typical of the *strambotto* genre, the second half of "Per poco tempo" is elaborated further with melismatic ornamentation (in typical dotted scalar patterns) leading to the final cadence (see example V.2).[86] Made up of only fourteen breves (or seven measures in modern transcription), "Per poco tempo" exemplifies many of the typical features of the Neapolitan repertory, including limited musical material, formulaic ornamental patterns, and simple homophonic textures. Despite

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86   As the text of "Per poco tempo" is incomplete (including only one and a half *endecasillabi*) and the song itself has no literary or musical concordances, the transcription also has an incomplete text.

the building blocks being largely the same, however, the ways in which they are utilized and combined is highly dependent on the individual poem.

Indeed, many other songs in the Neapolitan repertory follow this kind of model, but include other melodic features necessary to their specific texts. For example, the use of pitch repetition abounds in a large portion of the repertory to various effects. Out of 106 songs, sixty-four include at least one pattern of three or more repeated pitches in a recitation-like style, as in "Io non so' surdo ne ceco in tucto" (example V.3).[87] Or in the case of Galeota's "O tempo bono e chi me t'[h]a levato" where the simplicity and repetitiveness create an almost exaggerated number of repeated pitches, which perhaps might be seen as an embrace of the poem's sophisticated significance regarding the passage of time (example V.4).[88] In other cases, melodies are constructed from series of repeated pitch dyads, as in "Viva viva li galanti," where the repetitive invocation "Viva viva" is imitated by the construction of the opening melodic line (example V.5).[89] And, in a more widespread rendering, the unusual barzelletta "Chiave chiave" includes the hocket-like refrain made up of almost exclusively repeated pitch dyads (example V.6).[90]

Example V.3. Opening melody of "Io non so surdo ne ceco in tucto."

87   Perugia 431, fols. 114v–115r (census no. 40).

88   Montecassino 871, p. 421 (census no. 69). Pope and Kanazawa found the simplicity of this setting to be strange in contrast with the sophistication of the poem: "In [the poem] life's uncertainties are described in a series of metaphors likening them to the changeable winds and weather that beset the mariner. Is it not possible, however, that the first two verses may be a popular refrain which the courtly poet developed in his own way? Their simple tune suggests it and contrasts markedly with Galeota's poem." Pope and Kanazawa, *The Musical Manuscript Montecassino 871*, 659. This suggestion is certainly possible given the context, but in reality it is exactly this kind of simplicity that would have been necessary in order to avoid diminishing the importance of the words in Galeota's poem. As we will see, Calmeta advocates for just such a performance style in the case of musical *strambotti* in the elevated, intellectual courtly tradition.

89   Perugia 431, fols. 113v–114r (census no. 103).

90   Montecassino 871, pp. 420–21 (census no. 16). "Chiave chiave" has an incomplete text and is a unicum in Montecassino 871, leaving us with little information about its purpose or larger contents. In his brief analysis, Federico Ghisi posits that the cry "Chiave chiave" might have originated in celebration of the art of making keys, a *canto carnascialesco* for the *chiavaiuoli*. He then goes on to suggest a connection to the cry of papal troops when Pope Sixtus IV and Ferrante I of Naples combined against Florence in 1480. In this case, the song would function similarly to Isaac's "Palle palle" as a battle cry sung out in the streets. Ghisi, "Canzoni profane italiane," 15–17. In addition, Fallows has connected the text with the *lauda* tradition, through the *cantasi come* settings for "Alle chiave alle chiavone" and the related "Alle schiave alle schiavone." Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 501. For specific references on the *lauda* settings, see table B.5 in appendix B.

Example V.4. Pitch repetition in "O tempo bono e chi me t'[h]a levato."

Example V.5. Repeated pitch dyads in "Viva viva li galanti."

Example V.6. Repeated pitch dyads in all four voices of "Chiave chiave."

As is evident from these representative examples, this repertory has many consistencies in simplicity of melody and texture, repetition of musical material and form, and interdependence between text and music. Yet, each is also unique in its musical rendering, demonstrating that the same ingredients can be mixed and manipulated to create a variety of results.

The Neapolitan song repertory thus demonstrates its basis in oral practice through the formulaic nature of its general composition as well as its variety and simplicity. In performance, such works might have sounded quite different from how they were ultimately recorded in writing, however. In the end, the written transmission of a given song can only preserve so much of the original sounding performance, and we must imagine the rest based on our larger knowledge of style and performance practice in the period.

Ornamentation and Performance Style

One of the main features of lyric song performance in late-Quattrocento Naples was the way a poem and its accompanying melody were embellished through ornamentation. While we do not have a great deal of information about this phenomenon, a combination of written descriptions of performances and ornamentation in notated musical settings may shed some light on the matter.[91] In particular, Calmeta again provides invaluable evidence for the performance style of various genres in the period in his unpublished essay on vernacular poetry. He begins by describing the musical performance style of "*stanze*, *barzellette*, *frottole*, and other pedestrian styles," as follows:

> There will be some others who, delighting in the art of song, wish to please their ladies with highly ornamented singing, and to that music they attach amorous words. These [poets], who have no wish to go beyond that practice, must occupy themselves with *stanze*, *barzellette*, *frottole*, and other pedestrian styles, and [must not] base [their performance] on wit and invention, since they have in hand *Morgante*, the *Innamoramento d'Orlando*, the *frottole* of Galeotto del Carretto and similar other compositions. When accompanied musically, these [poems] are not only overshadowed, but covered entirely such that they cannot be discerned whatsoever. And this happens in the same way that oftentimes one sees in trees with branches full of copious leaves and rare fruits, wherein the rarity of the fruits is hidden beneath the abundance of the leafy branches.[92]

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91   For more on written descriptions of song performance, see the discussion of historical figures and documents in part II.

92   Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 21. Original Italian: "Saranno alcuni altri i quali, dilettandosi d'arte di canto, disiderano col cantar, massimamente diminuito, gratificar la sua donna, e in quella musica parole amorose inferire. Costoro, non volendo più avanti di tale instituto procedere, circa le stanze, barzelette, frottole e altri pedestri stili deveno essercitarsi, e non fondarsi sopra arguzie e invenzioni, avendo ben per le mani Morgante, l'Innamoramento d'Orlando, le frottole di

The abundance of ornamentation that Calmeta describes is specifically attributed to genres like *stanze* and *barzellette*, which have multiple stanzas of text similar to the suggested models of Pulci's *Morgante*[93] and Galeotto del Carretto's *frottole*.[94] Despite Calmeta's clear disapproval regarding this style of performance, it does seem apt for a genre like the *barzelletta* because it allows for a great deal of variety in a context of frequent and lengthy musical and, in the case of the refrain, textual repetition.

The *barzellette* of the Neapolitan repertory certainly include more complex textures and at times a higher level of ornamentation than what one sees in the *strambotto* genre, but this difference is much more evident in the refrain section than in the *piedi*. Songs like "Amor tu non me gabasti"[95] and "Foll'è chi vole amare,"[96] for example, begin with imitative patterns in all voices that create a significantly more complex polyphonic texture than the more homophonic settings typical of *strambotti*.[97] Indeed, unlike its *secunda pars* (or *piedi* section), the opening refrain in "Amor tu non me gabasti" presents a layering of imitative patterns, melodic motives, and cadential figures that seems to value musical texture and variety much more so than clarity of text expression (example V.7).[98]

Moreover, "In eternu voglio amare"[99] includes a great deal of ornamentation in its opening refrain, which is placed strikingly throughout the melodic line rather than only in the measures leading up to the cadence (as is typical in this tradition).

Galeotto del Carretto e simili altre composizioni, le quali, quando con la musica s'accompagnano, sono non solo adombrate, ma coperte per modo che non si possono discernere; e accadesi sì come spesse volte in molti arbori si vede, i quali di fronde copiosi e di frutti rari, la rarità de' frutti sotto l'abbondanza delle frondi tengono ascosta."

93 Pulci's *Morgante* is a comic epic with burlesque elements written in *ottava rima*, ultimately published with twenty-eight cantos in 1483. Pulci was a significant literary contact between Florence and Naples at the beginning of the 1470s. In fact, in the spring of 1471, he visited Naples as an emissary of Lorenzo de' Medici and composed a new *canzone* for King Ferrante while there. See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 10. For more on Pulci's *Morgante* and his career more generally, see Jordan, *Pulci's Morgante*; De Robertis, *Luigi Pulci*.

94 Galeotto del Carretto was a poet from Piemonte/Liguria (born in the first half of the fifteenth century of parents from Monferrato and Genova), who worked for the Visconti of Milan and visited Naples in 1488 on the occasion of the betrothal of Isabella d'Aragona (daughter of Ippolita Sforza and Alfonso II d'Aragona) to Gian Galeazzo Visconti. For more information, see Ricciardi, "DEL CARRETTO."

95 Montecassino 871, pp. 272–73 (four voices, *secunda pars* copied a second time at pp. 248–49); and Perugia 431, fols. 76v–77r (census no. 11; three voices).

96 Perugia 431, fols. 65v–66r (census no. 33).

97 See also part IV for a discussion of the specific imitative motive at the opening of "Amor tu non me gabasti" and its connection to a number of other works in the Neapolitan song repertory.

98 "Amor tu non me gabasti" is preserved in both three and four voice versions in Neapolitan manuscripts. The transcription presented here is drawn from the four-voice version of the song in Montecassino 871, pp. 272–73. This *barzelletta* is discussed in more detail within the analysis of Paris 1035 in part IV.

99 Perugia 431, fols. 99v–100r (census no. 50).

Example V.7. "Amor tu non me gabasti," opening refrain.

At the *piedi* section, however, there is no ornamentation at all. Instead, we hear a contrasting texture of slow-moving homophony that is devoid of rhythmic interest and lacks embellishment entirely (example V.8).[100]

From the written examples we have, then, we see that Calmeta's characterization of the *barzelletta* is at least partially true. The genre emphasizes more complex musical textures and ornamentation, especially in the refrain, but the *piedi* section does maintain the character of "simplicity and redundancy" that Prizer considers necessary to the practice of oral composition and performance.[101] Indeed, the basic, slow-moving texture of the *piedi* diverges from the more complex ornamentation in the refrain by prioritizing the clear and expedient delivery of multiple lines of text in numerous stanzas of the poem over the lingering embellishments of the oft-repeated refrain text.

In juxtaposition with the *barzelletta*, the *strambotto* genre typically has a simpler texture and melodic style with more limited musical material overall. This differ-

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100 This is a characteristic I discussed in part IV, as well, in reference to the reconstructed musical setting of "Io inde tengnio quanto a cte" based on Peter Burkholder's proposed musical model for *Missa Io ne tengo quanto a te* in Burkholder, "Johannes Martini," 490–503.

101 Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition," 6.

Example V.8. "In eternu voglio amare," refrain into opening of *piedi* section.

ence is by no means lost on Calmeta, who paints a striking picture of the *strambotto* in contrast with the *barzelletta* (and other similar genres):

> There will be others, who practice another style of simple and unadorned song, who wish to delight in some small witticism or affect in order to stand out in the crowd. Those [poets] accompany themselves with musical instruments, so that they may impress upon the hearts not only of the amorous, but also of the erudite. In their style of singing, these [poets] must imitate Cariteo or Serafino, who in our times have equally carried the trophy in this practice and required themselves to accompany their verses with clear and balanced music, so that the excellence of their pithy and witty words might be understood. They have that level of judgment that is typically found in an astute jeweler, who in displaying the finest white pearl will not keep it covered in a gold draping, but rather in a piece of black silk so that it can stand out all the more. . . . [I]t is as in a beautiful meadow, in which the delicate green grass is the field and the different elegant little flowers the ornament. And

because these witticisms, aphorisms, and affections are words that correspond to things, they must maintain the style of the *strambotto*, which has been exalted by many modern intellects, rather than that of any other genre; for this, above every other style in modern use, has to some degree reached perfection.[102]

Here we learn that, in Calmeta's view, the *strambotto* is the most admirable form of sung lyric that one can achieve in the vernacular tongue and that the most appropriate models for such a style are indubitably Benedetto Gareth (*detto* "il Cariteo") and Serafino Ciminelli dell'Aquila.[103] Serafino and Cariteo were linked prominently by Vincenzo Calmeta, who claimed in his *Vita di Serafino Aquilano* that Serafino's success in the composition and performance of *strambotti* was due in large part to the influence of Cariteo.[104] In his essay on vernacular poetry quoted above, Calmeta also emphasizes that the *strambotto* style for which Cariteo and Serafino became famous is not just one of poetic choices, but also of musical ones, which can be contrasted strongly with the singing styles most commonly associated with other genres like the *barzelletta* and *frottola*.[105] Indeed, rather than the

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102 Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 21–22. Original Italian: "Altri saranno che, essercitandosi in un altro modo di cantare, semplice e non diminuito, vorranno di qualche arguzietta, o vero affetto, dilettarsi, per uscir fuora della volgar schiera, quelle con lo instrumento di musica accompagnando, per poterle meglio non solo negli amorosi ma ancora negli eruditi cuori imprimere. Questi tali nel modo del cantare deveno Cariteo o Serafino imitare, i quali a' nostri tempi hanno di simili essercizio portata la palma, e sonosi sforzati d'accompagnar le rime con musica stesa e piana, acciocché meglio la eccellenza delle sentenziose e argute parole si potesse intendere, avendo quel giudicio che suole avere un accorto gioielliero, il quale, avendo a mostrare una finissima e candida perla, non in drappo d'oro la tenerà involta, ma in qualche nero zendado, a ciò che meglio possa comparire. . . . [S]arà come in un bellissimo prato, che la verde e minuta erbetta è il campo e i vaghi e diversi fioretti l'ornamento. E perché queste arguzie, sentenze e affetti siano in parole alle cose corrispondenti, più nello stile degli stramotti, da molti ingegni moderni sublimato, che in altre opere deveno insistere; imperocché questo, sopra ogni altro stile da' moderni frequentato, è a qualche parte di perfezione aggiunto."

103 Both figures are discussed in part II.

104 Calmeta describes Cariteo's influence on Serafino as follows: "When Serafino was in Milan he became friends with a notable Neapolitan gentleman named Andrea Coscia, a soldier of the Duke Lodovico Sforza, who sang very pleasingly to the lute, and among the other types of music, a sonata in which he performs *strambotti* by Chariteo with great sweetness. Now Serafino not only adopted the manner [of singing], adding more polish to it, but began to compose his own *strambotti* with such passion and diligence that he achieved his greatest fame and had his greatest success in that style." Colli [Calmeta], *Prose e lettere edite e inedite*, 63; English translation from Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence*, 137.

105 Despite the more consistent use of this term in early-sixteenth-century prints, the definition of "frottola" in this period is varied and unclear. More work needs to be done to understand exactly what the genre entails (since it is clear, for example, that Calmeta does not think that *strambotti* are *frottole*). A first step in this direction was taken in the panel "Frottola Schmottola," organized by Giovanni Zanovello and chaired by Bonnie Blackburn, at the 2018 meeting of the American Musicological Society in San Antonio—including my own paper on Neapolitan song in addition to two others by Blake Wilson (Florentine singing traditions) and Giovanni Zanovello (vernacular song of the Veneto region). A further intervention with relation to Alfred Einstein's concept and scholarly treatment of the *frottola* (and his impact on later scholarship of the twentieth to

"highly ornamented" style of musical performance in those more "pedestrian" genres, the *strambotto* is typically performed to the accompaniment of a musical instrument with a plain and unadorned melodic line, allowing the beauty and wit of the poetry to shine through like a pearl enveloped in black silk. Many of the *strambotti* in the Neapolitan song repertoire maintain the kind of clarity in their musical settings that Calmeta attributes to the performance style of Cariteo and Serafino. As we have seen thus far, they typically include simple melodic lines with ornamentation primarily in the music leading up to the cadence. The first melodic phrase, corresponding with the first line of a hendecasyllabic couplet, is typically simpler than the second, which expands its embellishment in order to emphasize the closing of the poetic unit.

Although the great majority of the Neapolitan song repertory is anonymous and cannot be specifically linked to Calmeta's ideal models of Cariteo and Serafino, a few of these *strambotto* texts have been attributed specifically to poets either from or connected to Naples. For example, both "O tempo bono e chi me t'[h]a levato" and "L'ucello mi chiamo jo perdo jornata" can be attributed to the Neapolitan poet and aristocrat Francesco Galeota due to their inclusion in his single-author *canzoniere* held in two copies at libraries in Naples and Modena.[106] More importantly, several songs have been connected, to varying degrees, to none other than the famous poet-improviser Serafino Aquilano, who visited and worked in Naples twice during his short career.[107] These include: "Dell arboro chanta tat de port,"[108] "Amor che t'[h]o fat hio che me day guerra,"[109] "Morte che fai che non pigli sta

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twenty-first centuries) was made more recently in Giovanni Zanovello, "Einstein's Frottola and Its Legacy" (paper presented at the conference *Das italienische Madrigal: Alfred Einsteins "Versuch einer Geschichte der italienischen Profan-Musik im 16. Jahrhundert" und die Folgen*, Munich, Germany, March 16–18, 2022). Here, Zanovello proposes a correction "to the terminological confusion . . . around the word frottola" in favor of a more nuanced and varied understanding of "Italian song." For more information about the history of the term "frottola" in both poetic and musical genres, see Pelaez and Cesari, "FROTTOLA."

106 As previously mentioned, the two manuscripts preserving copies of Galeota's *Canzoniere* are: Modena α.M.7.32 and Naples BNN XVII.1.

107 Serafino lived and worked in Naples twice in the course of his short life and career: first, from 1478 to 1481 in the service of Antonio de Guevara, Count of Potenza; and second, from 1491 to 1494 as an active member of Pontano's academy. He also encountered Neapolitan culture in 1487 in Milan, where he met the Neapolitan courtier Andrea Coscia (see information in footnote 104). See Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 82–83. This discussion is fleshed out in more detail in part II where I talk about connections between Serafino and music theorists at Naples and Milan, as well as his probable influence from Cariteo.

108 Montecassino 871, p. 349 (census no. 25). Fallows suggests that this song could be a corrupted version of the *strambotto* "De l'albor che con mia man piantai" attributed to "Saraphinus" in Vaticano latino 5159, but is also quick to point out that the attribution in that manuscript is "almost certainly" erroneous. Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, 513.

109 Montecassino 871, p. 418 (census no. 10). Attribution to "Saraphinus" in Vaticano latino 5159, fol. 88r.

spoglia,"[110] "Ai lasio ad quantj feri la sete toglio,"[111] and "Sufferir so disposto omne tormento."[112] As Giuseppina La Face Bianconi and Antonio Rossi have demonstrated, songs like "Sufferir so disposto omne tormento" in particular were likely attributed to Serafino erroneously in manuscripts compiled in the years following his untimely death, as his friends and admirers attempted to anthologize his works posthumously.[113] Indeed, of the five songs listed with some connection to Serafino in the manuscript tradition, only one—"Ai lasio ad quantj feri la sete toglio"—can be definitively attributed to him.[114] Yet, even if the majority of these songs were not composed by Serafino directly, they were obviously close enough to Serafino's style that they were misattributed to him in the first place, and thus they may point, more generally, to a common vein in the character of the Neapolitan repertory that was tied in with the performances of *improvvisatori* like Serafino and Cariteo.

This stylistic connection to Serafino aside, however, it is worth noting that some of the written *strambotto* settings do, indeed, have a significant amount of melodic

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110 Perugia 431, fols. 46v–47r (census no. 60). Text attribution to Serafino in Vaticano latino 5170, fol. 26v. Music attributed to Isaac in the musical concordance in Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. s.s., fol. 198v.

111 Perugia 431, fols. 53v–54r (census no. 4). Attribution to Serafino in numerous sources, both manuscript and printed, including the most authoritative source of Serafino's works: Ciminelli, *Opere del facundissimo Seraphino Aquilano* [Besicken], 29.XI.1502 (*editio princeps*; Roma N, 69.1.F.9), fol. d2v.

112 Perugia 431, fols. 116v–117r (census no. 93). Attribution to Serafino in Vaticano latino 5170, fol. 33r.

113 In their problematization of "Sufferir so disposto," La Face Bianconi and Rossi emphasize that, due largely to his untimely death at the age of thirty-four in 1500, there are no extant copies of Serafino's poetry that are either in his own hand or were curated and collected by him. Rather, the first (and the most authoritative) collection of Serafino's works was compiled and published posthumously by Francesco Flavio: Ciminelli, *Opere del facundissimo Seraphino Aquilano* [Besicken], 29.XI.1502 (*editio princeps*; Roma N, 69.1.F.9). Every edition following this one seems to increase the number of works attributable to Serafino with less and less rigor. Moreover, two poetic manuscripts that frequently include attributions to Serafino—Vaticano latino 5159 and Vaticano latino 5170 (cited above)—are not to be trusted as they contain many known errors of attribution throughout. La Face Bianconi and Rossi, "'Soffrir non son disposto ogni tormento,'" 2:240–54.

114 The large number of sources, both manuscript and print, that present this poem with an attribution to Serafino provides strong evidence of his authorship. Manuscript sources include: FN II.X.54, fol. 51v (*Seraphini*); FN IIII, fol. 70v (*Saraphin*); PesOliv54, fol. 162r; Pm201, fol. 80r (*Seraphinus*); Vaticano latino 5159, fol. 126r (*s. ti. Saraphinus Aquilanus*); and Vaticano latino 5170, fol. 4r. Print sources include: Ciminelli, *Opere del facundissimo Seraphino Aquilano* [Besicken], 29.XI.1502 (*editio princeps*: Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, 69.1.F.9), fol. d2v; Ciminelli, *Opere del facundissimo Seraphino Aquilano* [Bonelli], 24.XII.1502 (London, British Library, G.10633), fol. M3v; Ciminelli, *Opere del facundissimo Seraphĩo Aq~lano*, 30.V.1503 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Palat. 2.4.1.10), fol. M1v; Ciminelli, *Opere dello elegante poeta Seraphino Aquilano*, 5.X.1503 (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Libraries, PQ4619.C5.1503), fol. d5v; Ciminelli, *Opere Dello elegantissimo Poeta Seraphino Aquilano*, XII.1516 (Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, XX.139), fol. 141r; *Stramboti del Seraphin* (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 10947 2e p.); Ciminelli, *Strambotti del Seraphino*, 8.VI.1504 (London, British Library, 11426.e.2), fol. b4r; and Ciminelli, *Fioretto de cose*, 31.I.1508 (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, RR.3.17), fol. K4v.

embellishment and ornamentation that goes beyond what Calmeta indicates as the proper performance style for that genre. In the musical setting of "Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma," for example, the text of the *strambotto* is highly ornamented especially in opening line of the Cantus voice (example V.9).

Example V.9. "Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma," first *endecasillabo*.

In order to focus on ornamentation, the melody is frequently broken by rests, interrupting the poetic line in a nonsensical manner. Especially considering that this incipit is borrowed from Petrarch, the ornamentation seems to simultaneously elevate and detract from the more sophisticated tone and meaning of the source material. This can hardly be what Calmeta was hoping for in his advice to young poet-singers who wished to perform *strambotti*, and yet it is by no means a unique case. Although many of the *strambotti* in the Neapolitan repertory achieve the kind of straightforward elegance and simplicity for which Calmeta advocates, many others are adorned by a great number of embellishments throughout.

Perhaps Calmeta felt the need to emphasize the importance of simplicity in musical setting for precisely this reason. Many performers did not adhere to his musico-

poetic precepts. The musical evidence, indeed, suggests that these songs (*strambotti* and *barzellette* alike) were sung with varying levels of complexity in ornamentation and texture, and yet, even melodies that are highly embellished, like those of "In eternu voglio amare" and "Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma," could easily be simplified or complicated depending on the needs and inclination of the performer. What this repertory most reveals is that the surviving written records of music and text seem to have captured snapshots of specific practices (or preferences) at fixed moments in the performance history of each song. Some copies have a great deal of ornamentation and textural complexity. Others have simple, unadorned melodies with basic homophonic accompaniment in the lower voices. And others still have some combination of those two extremes. The constant is not in the level of specificity that comes through on the manuscript page, but in the generic, thematic, and structural parameters that provide the fundamental basis for the tradition as a whole.

The oral practice of singing Neapolitan lyric is evident throughout this repertory in the poetic genres set to music, the formulaic passages of text and music utilized, the emphasis on repetition and clarity in the larger composition, and the overall flexibility of form that allows all of those features to be combined in ever-changing ways. As I have tried to explain thus far, the numerous connections between these musical works and the larger tradition of improvised poetry and song in the period are telltale clues to its performance history and, ultimately, to its place within the cultural and artistic production of the Kingdom. Each song, in its musical, textual, and material qualities, reveals a unique amalgamation of musical and poetic influences drawn from the diverse oral-literate culture of late-Quattrocento Naples. Understanding those influences is key to unlocking the variety of ways that this repertory has preserved the oral tradition of the day.

Chapter 2: Case Studies

The following case studies present various ways in which traces of oral practice may be identified in the written musical settings of the Neapolitan song repertory. As has been emphasized throughout this chapter, these studies strive to understand not only the repertory's connections to orality, but also the culture of mixed orality—the combined existence of oral and written practices—that led to the preservation of these songs in musical and literary manuscripts of the period.

"Zappay lo campo"

"Zappay lo campo," preserved in Montecassino 871, exemplifies the key features typical of a song that may have been orally composed and later recorded in writ-

ing.[115] The very picture of musical and material economy, "Zappay" takes up only three short staves, one per voice, in the blank space below the contrabassus part of a Spanish *cancion* laid out in a generous choirbook style (see figure V.1). The text is incomplete—reading only "Zappay" in the manuscript version and "Zappay lo campo" in the collection's *tabula* (see figure V.2)—but one can tell from the song's structure that the full poem was likely a *strambotto*. As discussed earlier, musical settings of Neapolitan *strambotti* usually consist of one large section with two main musical phrases, one for each line of a rhyming couplet.

In the first, the musical content could not be more limited. In fact, the cantus contains only eleven notes, just enough to cover one hendecasyllabic line. The second phrase also begins syllabically, but becomes slightly more elaborate as it approaches the final cadence—a common place to find ornamentation in musical *strambotti*. In addition, the cantus has a limited melodic range of only a sixth and incorporates frequent pitch repetition, thus embodying the utmost simplicity and economy. That simplicity is echoed in the lower voices, which seem to follow the rules of *falsobordone* technique with only slight variation.

In keeping with that practice, "Zappay lo campo" has two distinct musical phrases, as seen in the transcription in example V.10.

Example V.10. Modern transcription of "Zappay lo campo."

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115   "Zappay lo campo," Montecassino 871, p. 268 (census no. 106).

Figure V.1. "Zappay lo campo," Montecassino 871, p. 268.
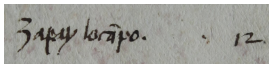
Figure V.2. "Zappay lo campo" in the *tabula* of Montecassino 871, p. 434.

Outlined in Guilielmus Monachus's late fifteenth-century treatise *De preceptis artis musicae, falsobordone* was a widespread improvisatory practice of the day in which either three or four voices move in a homophonic, chordal texture.[116] The Tenor and Cantus move in parallel thirds or sixths, while the Bassus alternates fifths and thirds below the main melody, just as we see happen in "Zappay." The Altus, when present, fills in the harmonies by alternating fourths and thirds against the tenor. A song using such a technique could be performed with either solo voice and instrumental accompaniment or multiple voices singing in improvised polyphony, a flexibility which would likely facilitate its transmission into multiple social contexts.

"Zappay lo campo" (meaning "I hoed the field") is, thus, written out in the smallest possible space to match its limited musical material. It has no direct concordances, either musical or literary, and yet its presence in Montecassino 871 appears to be a memorial record of a popular song that was likely performed throughout Naples. Further inquiry into the Neapolitan lyric repertory, in fact, reveals a related text (if not a true concordance) in the literary manuscript Vaticano latino 10656: "Io semenaj lo campo et altro mete."[117]

Io semenaj lo campo et altro mete	I planted the field and another reaps the harvest
Et ho disperse le fatiche in vano	And I squandered my efforts in vain
Altro ha delacqua et io moro de sete	Another has water, and I am dying of thirst
Altro e sagliuto et io desciso al piano	Another has climbed and I have descended to the plain
Altro ha la caza et io stise la rete	Another gets the hunt and I cast out the net
Sulo la pyuma me remasta in mano	Only the feather is left in my hand
Fortuna ha facte le soe voglie lete	Fortune has satisfied his desires
Amore a torto me stato villano.	Love, wrongly, was cruel to me.

The incipit of "Io semenaj lo campo" is irresistibly similar to our lone *strambotto* setting of "Zappay lo campo," and the text as a whole bears unmistakable markers of orality. The poetic "I" begins by introducing the problem, "I planted the field while another reaps the harvest / and I squandered my efforts in vain," and then goes on to list a series of inequities in a formulaic, binary verse construction: "Another has water, and I am dying of thirst / Another has climbed and I have descended to the plain / Another gets the hunt and I cast out the net . . . ."

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116 Monachus, *De preceptis artis musicae*, 38–44. On the practice of *falsobordone*, see Fiorentino, *"Folía"*; Macchiarella, *Il falsobordone*.

117 "Io semenai lo campo," Vaticano latino 10656, fol. 116r. Pope and Kanazawa briefly note the textual similarity between "Io semenai lo campo" and "Zappay lo campo" in their introduction to the edition of Montecassino 871, suggesting that "such songs may have been performed as a set" (Pope and Kanazawa, "Introduction," 82). As will be evident in what follows here, I believe that the connection between the two songs is more complicated than that.

Such a binary construction ("Altro ha/è . . . et io . . .") provides a kind of fill-in-the-blank pattern that allows a performer to quickly predict the conclusion of each verse with a series of phrasal antonyms, supplying an opposing misfortune for each instance of good fortune given to the other man. Essentially, one unjustly reaps what the other has painstakingly sown. The poem concludes with a turn toward Fortune and Love, the real culprits of the poet's misfortune, and the common truism, "Amore a torto m'è stato villano." This *strambotto siciliano* in its full eight verses, thus, reveals the popular, pastoral theme of working in the field as a metaphor for the struggles of unrequited love, a poetic trope that fits well within a community deeply engaged in the composition and performance of Virgilian eclogues and other pastoral works, like Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.

Type	Source
Literary manuscripts	Vaticano latino 10656
	Vaticano latino 11255
	Vaticano latino 5159
	Florence, BNCF Magliabechiano VII.720
	Riccardiana 2723
Laude (*cantasi come* indication)	"Perche l'amor di Dio tanto mi tira" (Francesco D'Albizo); "cantasi come: I' seminai lo campo" (Florence: Buonaccorsi, 1485)
	"Pel di Ognissanti—O gloriosi in cielo" (Francesco D'Albizo); "cantasi come: Noi siam tre pellegrini—e come I seminai lo campo, e come gli strambotti" (Florence: Buonaccorsi, 1485)

Table V.5. Concordances for "Io semenai lo campo."

Despite its lack of an extant musical setting, "Io semenai lo campo" was clearly well known in both literary and musical circles, with concordances in at least five literary manuscripts, as well as *cantasi come* settings for two different *laude* by Francesco d'Albizo (see table V.5).[118] "Zappay lo campo" may not actually be the same poem as "Io semenai lo campo et altro mete," but, with an almost identical incipit in what seems to be the same genre, it is quite likely that it was part of a common trope and, thus, followed a similar formula in its verse structure and poetic make-up. The lack of any other musical concordances is almost undoubtedly due to the extreme simplicity of the setting, which would have made memorization and performance a more efficient means of transmission than writing. Indeed, the fact that its musi-

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118   The known literary concordances of "Io semenai lo campo" are listed in La Face Bianconi, *Gli strambotti del codice estense*, 124, n. 69. The *cantasi come* indications in *lauda* texts by Francesco d'Albizo are found in Galletti, *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari*, 54 and 58.

cal setting was written down at all is, in all probability, a testament to the song's popularity and transmission through oral performance, which would ultimately reach the ears of at least one musically literate community—those responsible for the compilation of Montecassino 871.[119]

"Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento"

Not all of the Neapolitan song settings connected to the oral tradition are quite this simple, however. In fact, many seem to have been influenced by a complex history of transmission that was neither solely oral nor solely written. The *strambotto* "Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento" is one such example.[120] "Serà nel cor mio" is preserved in all four of the central Neapolitan musical manuscripts in either three- or four-voice settings.[121]

Starting with the three-voice version in Seville-Paris, the song includes several of the characteristics of oral practice listed earlier, but its basic musical fabric has been elaborated with more detail and ornamentation (see example V.11). On a structural level, "Serà nel cor mio" follows the typical form of a *strambotto* setting with two main musical phrases. Both begin syllabically and go on to include melismatic embellishment at the ends of phrases. Moreover, each musical phrase is given a natural caesura in the cantus voice that creates an additional intermediary cadence reflecting the structure of the hendecasyllabic line. All the voices move homophonically, but there are occasional deviations, such as the dotted scalar passage in the Bassus at the first main cadence. This kind of ornamental elision between the two main musical phrases of the *strambotto* is a common occurrence in the Neapolitan tradition. Such a formulaic aesthetic choice may have been made during performance, but its presence in the Bassus of all four versions of the song demonstrates just how fixed even the ornamental gestures in "Serà nel cor mio" had become within the written medium.

Furthermore, the song's polyphonic texture is again quite similar to what we know of *falsobordone* technique, but with some significant variation. First, there is a clear melodic pairing between the Tenor and Cantus parts, which move predominantly in parallel thirds or tenths. In the second phrase, however, the chain of tenths is broken by a perfect fourth leap in the Tenor that varies the pattern to incorporate several parallel sixths before jumping back down to a tenth and approaching

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119   For more on the creation of Montecassino 871, see the discussion of that source in part III.

120   "Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento," Montecassino 871, p. 430; Perugia 431, fol. 107v; Seville-Paris, fol. *Sev*118v; and Bologna Q 16, fol. 128r.

121   See figure C.9 in appendix C for original manuscript images of "Serà nel cor mio" in all four Neapolitan music manuscripts.

Example V.11. Transcription of "Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento" (Seville-Paris version).

Example V.12. Opening of "Serà nel cor mio" (Montecassino 871 version).

the final cadence through a 7-6 suspension. This uncharacteristically large melodic leap would have required some degree of pre-planning beyond the formulaic practices of improvised polyphony. Nonetheless, it makes good counterpoint with the Cantus and varies the polyphonic texture with such consistency in all four versions that it once again hints at an influence from the written tradition. That influence is also evident in the Bassus, which, as we saw earlier, deviates from its role as the song's harmonic foundation through ornamental gestures and occasional parallel motion with the tenor. In contrast, the fourth voice in Bologna Q 16 and Montecassino 871 simply fills in thirds and fourths against the tenor throughout (see opening of Montecassino 871 version in example V.12).

The presence of this song in four manuscript sources from late-Quattrocento Naples is significant in several ways. First, as discussed earlier there is not as much repertorial overlap among these four collections as one might imagine. As discussed earlier in this chapter, "Serà nel cor mio" is, in fact, one of only sixteen Italian-texted songs found in more than one Neapolitan manuscript and the only one found in all four. But that does not mean that all four versions came from the same exemplar or even from the same performance context. In fact, despite the remarkable similarities among the four versions, there are also some important differences that demonstrate the song's history in oral performance as well as its transmission in writing (see table V.6). The first main difference among these sources is the most obvious: some have only three voices while the others have four. The three-voice settings in Perugia 431 and Seville-Paris would seem to be earlier, but the fact that all four of these manuscripts were copied around the same time suggests that both three- and four-voice versions were likely circulating simultaneously. In fact, like many other added *si placet* parts of the period, the fourth voice in Bologna Q 16 and Montecassino 871 is so simple that depending on the circumstances a performer, or a musically adept scribe, could have composed it easily either in performance or during the transcription process.

Yet, while the number of voices may not be a strongly distinguishing factor, there are several variants that demonstrate independence among the four versions. The variants in Bologna Q 16 point most strongly to written transmission. As shown in example V.13, the scribe omits nearly two full breves from the Contraltus voice. This issue is not present in the other four-voice version of the song in Montecassino 871, which has only one minor instance of scribal error. In contrast, the two three-voice versions are relatively free of scribal error, but are nonetheless distinguished by their poetic texts, which both include all eight lines of the *strambotto*. A comparison of the two reveals that Perugia 431 differs from Seville-Paris in three out of eight lines:

Seville-Paris

Serà ne lo cor mio doglia e tormento
Poy che privata son del mio thesoro
Serà la vita mia in pianto et lamento
Po che m'[h]a tolto el veder ch'adoro
Serà el pensir mio [tristo] e scontento
<u>**Poy che penando**</u> ognihoro puncto moro
La fe che prometesti sulo m[o]mento[122]
Cambiata *me serà per forza d'oro*[123]

Perugia 431

Serà nel core mio doglia et tormento
Poy che privato so del mio thesoru
Serà la vita mia pianto et lamento
<u>**Poy che penando**</u> vo senza restor[o]
Serà el pinzeri mio tristo et scontento
Poy che me tolto de ve[de]re chi adoro
La fede e la speranza in solo momento
Cagniata *may sarà per fin che mora*[124]

Manuscript	No. of voices	Text	Layout	Distinguishing features
Montecassino 871	4	Incipit only	Compact choirbook	No significant variants
Perugia 431	3	Full text	Compact choirbook	Common C, note values halved; poetic text variants
Seville-Paris	3	Full text	Compact choirbook	Poetic text variants
Bologna Q 16	4	Incipit only	Compact choirbook	Scribal error; ornamentation notated at cadences

Table V.6. Four versions of "Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento."

First, line 4 of Seville-Paris is actually placed as line 6 of Perugia 431. Then, the beginning of line 6 of Seville-Paris matches the beginning of line 4 of Perugia 431, but the conclusion of each verse is completely different. Last, in both versions, line 8 begins with the same word ("Cambiata" or "Cagniata") but then each concludes

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122 In Seville-Paris, lines 7 and 8 are actually written into the margin directly after the first two lines underlaid with the Cantus voice (see figure C.9c in appendix C). This was likely a scribal error, so I have included them as the final two lines of the text here anyway. Regardless, that additional alteration in the ordering in lines further illustrates the malleability of the musico-poetic form. While it may be rhetorically stronger to conclude the poem with those lines, they could technically be sung at any point during the performance without interrupting or confusing the musical form.

123 English translation: "Pain and torment will be in my heart / so long as I am deprived of my treasure. / My life will be [lived] in cries and lamentation / **so long as my loved one is removed from sight.** / My thoughts will be sad and discontented / <u>**so long as, suffering, I die every hour every minute.**</u> / The faith that you promised in a moment / *will be shifted* [*away*] *from me through the power of gold.*"

124 English translation: "Pain and torment will be in my heart / so long as I am deprived of my treasure. / My life will be [lived] in cries and lamentation / **so long as, suffering, I go [on] without rest** / My thoughts will be sad and discontented / <u>**so long as my loved one is removed from sight.**</u> / The faith and hope in a single moment / *will never be changed until I die.*"

Example V.13. Scribal error in Bologna Q 16 version of "Serà nel cor mio" (blue font).

with a completely different phrase, going so far as to fundamentally change the meaning of the line. Similar to what we saw in "Io semenai lo campo" earlier, a *strambotto* with this kind of repetitive syntactic pattern ("Sera . . . / Poy che . . .") is typical of the lyric tradition in that it allows enough flexibility and predictability for an improvised performance to result in a variety of different outcomes. The variants between these two versions demonstrate one way in which memorized lines or phrases could be employed differently to complete the basic *strambotto* structure.

Furthermore, "Serà nel cor mio" is also preserved in two Neapolitan literary manuscripts—Riccardiana 2752 and Vaticano latino 11255:[125]

Vaticano latino 11255	Riccardiana 2752
Serà nel cor mio dolgia e trormento	Serrà nel core mio doglia e tormento
Poi che privato **sono dal tuo tesor[o]**	poi che privato **so dela mia luce**
Serà la vita mia pianto e lamento	Serrà la vita mia pianto e lamento
Poi che m'è tolto de vedera chi ador[o]	Poi che m'è tolto de veder ch'io adoro
Serà el pensera mio tristo e scontento	Sarrà il pe[n]sier mio tristo e schontento
Poi che piangendo ogni hora e puncto e moro	poi che penando ongniora e punto moro
La fede **che io promesso** un solo momento	La fede **che donaj** ynsul momento
Scambiata mai serà per forza d'oro	Cangiata maj sarrà per forza d'oro

If we compare the texts in the previously discussed musical sources with their concordances in these literary sources, it is clear that Seville-Paris transmits the more common or fixed version of the poem, while Perugia 431 provides an equally valid, though different solution. Yet, even while both Vaticano latino 11255 and Riccardiana 2752 maintain the fundamental verse structure and content present in Seville-Paris, there are still some significant differences, especially in the Riccardiana 2752 version: for example, line 2 ("poi che privato so dela mia luce" instead

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125 Vaticano latino 11255, fol. 4r; and Riccardiana 2752, fol. 144v.

of "dal mio/tuo thesoro") and line 7 ("La fede che donaj" instead of "La fede che prometesti/io promesso).[126] The "so de la mia luce" in line 2, in particular, affects the integrity of the alternating A–B rhyme scheme, but, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this kind of deviation from the *rima alternata* structure is actually quite common throughout the Neapolitan lyric repertory—due almost certainly to its basis and diffusion in oral performance.

Altogether, the two literary versions and four musical versions of "Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento" in manuscript sources represent a song that seems to have reached the height of popularity in both oral and written contexts. As we have seen, the song's musical setting and poetic variants demonstrate many of the qualities that we associate with oral practice. Yet, there are several features that illustrate the song's connection to the written tradition as well—most importantly, the simple fact that four different manuscripts transmit nearly identical versions of the same musical setting. But one last piece of evidence further complicates the story. A notarial document from Messina, dated July 1, 1491, cites an employment contract in which a "magister Gregorius de Berto, barbitonsor" agrees to teach a certain "Giovanni Speciale" to play: "La baxa francesa et lauta, et dui mutanczi; lauta di castella et dui jnposti, et una canzuni: nonciata ocultamenti et un'altra nonciata **sarra nel cori meu** et la guardia et alias cantilenas ad discretionem dicti magistri Gregory."[127]

This document teaches us, first and foremost, that a barber in Sicily had been employed to teach someone how to play "cantilenas" and that there was likely a larger tradition of this kind of oral dissemination of tunes in both popular and courtly contexts. These "cantilenas" evidently included both dances and vernacular songs. The "baxa francesa," for example, is likely a French *basse dance*, and the word "lauta" in "lauta di castella" is actually a dialect version of "l'alta," making "lauta di castella" *l'alta castiglya* (the counterpart of the "bassa castiglya" or *basse danse* "La Spagna").[128] More to the point though, one of the few texted vernacular songs specifically named in the document was "sarra nel cori meu" (or a Sicilian version of "Serà nel cor mio"). This document's combination of both dance

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126 English translation, line 2: "So long as I am deprived of my light" instead of "of my treasure"; line 7: "the faith that I gave" instead of "the faith that you/I promised."

127 "The *bassa francesa* and the *alta*, and two *mudanze*; the *alta* of Castille and two *imposti*, and one song called 'Ocultamenti' ['Ocultamente me sentia punto' in P676] and another called **'Sarra nel cori meu' ['Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento']** and 'La Guardia' and other songs at the discretion of the aforementioned Magister Gregorius." La Corte Caillier, "Note storiche Siciliane," fasc. 1, p. 150 (from a document burned in the 1943 bombing; emphasis added). Special thanks to Bonnie Blackburn for discussing some of the peculiarities of this document with me.

128 Strikingly, two copies of the earliest version of the *basse danse* "La Spagna" are included in two of the Neapolitan music manuscripts under investigation here: Perugia 431, fols. 95v–96r ("Falla con misura" attributed to M. Guilielmus) and Bologna Q 16, fols. 74v–75r ("La bassa castiglya"). The corresponding "alta" (attributed to Francisco de la Torre) is preserved in the *Cancionero de Palacio* (Madrid, Biblioteca Real, Ms. II–1335, no. 439).

and vernacular song settings under the single moniker of "cantilenas" implies that "magister Gregorius" was likely teaching these songs for instrumental performance and, thus, that "Serà nel cor mio" had reached a level of popularity such that it was both sung and played instrumentally.

The evidence surrounding "Serà nel cor mio" in both manuscript and archival sources thus reveals what is likely a long and complex history of oral and written transmission taking place simultaneously in multiple social and geographical settings. Its transcription in collections meant for both monastic and court communities together with its performance and oral transmission in a Sicilian barbershop (of all places) could not paint a more varied picture. And the mere existence of this number of copies and references suggests that, like "Zappay lo campo," "Sera nel cor mio" must have been part of musical life in southern Italy for some time prior to the first written evidence we have.

Conclusion

Songs like "Sera nel cor mio" and "Zappay lo campo" exemplify the varied and vibrant secular song tradition that bridged the gap between orality and literacy in late Quattrocento Naples. Each one has its own story in the oral-literate culture of the day, which can be pieced together only by taking musical, literary, and material considerations together. Despite the paucity of specifically musical evidence for "Zappay lo campo," for example, non-musical literary sources of lyric poetry and *lauda* texts reveal a potential context and significance for that song in its similarity to the more widely disseminated "Io semenai lo campo." Moreover, the poetic flexibility and variants in the different versions of "Serà nel cor mio" paired with the consistency of its musical setting reveal a text that likely arrived in manuscript form through a mix of oral and written means.

As Lauren Jennings has recently done with the Italian Trecento repertory,[129] it is imperative to understand these songs as both musical and literary entities and, as such, to study them in both musical and literary sources. Within the context of polyphonic choirbooks and chansonniers, they may seem out of place or even crude. But their preservation in literary anthologies of the day reveals a much wider repertory of lyric texts, only a fraction of which survives with musical settings. The exceptional nature of these extant musical settings in the context of an oral performance tradition should not be underestimated. Indeed, judging this repertory, and the oral practice it represents, on the sole basis of its fixed form in musical notation

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129 Jennings's work emphasizes the importance of literary sources in the understanding of musical texts set by Italian Trecento composers. In doing so, she analyzes the placement and treatment of these texts in literary manuscripts in addition to their role in musical sources of the day. Jennings, *Senza Vestimenta*.

generally leaves out a significant portion of a much broader creative history. Without a doubt, the wealth of evidence drawn from the Italian-texted repertory frames Neapolitan song within a solid foundation of literary, musical, and historical data as the product of an oral performance tradition—but one that exists and flourishes squarely within a literate society.

No.	Incipit	Music Mss	Literary Mss
61	Morte merce gentile aquila altera	Montecassino 871, Escorial B, Cord (same text, diff. music)	none
72	Orsu cusi va el mondo	Perugia 431, Florence Basevi 2441 (same text, diff. music)	none
4	Ai lasio ad quanti feri lasete toglio	Perugia 431, Milan Tr55 (same text, diff. music)	Bald228, Can99, FN II.X.54, FN 1111, PesOliv54, Pm201, Vaticano latino 5159, Vaticano latino 5170
96	Trista che spera morendo	Perugia 431, Mellon (same text, diff. music)	none
37	In eternu voglio amare	Perugia 431; same text, different music (attributed to M. Cara): Florence BR 230; Florence BR 337; Petrucci Frottole I	Cappon. 193
63	Non te fidare se a te ciascun se arende	Perugia 431; Milan Tr55 (same text, diff. musical setting)	Vaticano latino 13704, Vaticano latino 5159, Ferrara I.408, FN 701, Riccardiana 2723, Modena It. 809, Can99
56	L'ucello mio chiamo jo perdo jornata	Perugia 431, Paris 676, FN Panciatichi 27, Modena α.F.9.9 (same C, diff. T, Ca, Cb)	Modena α.M.7.32, Naples BNN XVII.1, *Opere nuove dello altissimo poeta fiorentino*
51	Lenchioza mia lenchioza balarina	Seville-Paris, Canti C, F229, Odh, SG461, SG530 (tabl.), I-Ra 346 (tabl.)	*La Nencia da Barberino* (stanzas 20-1)

Table V.7. Poems with multiple musical settings.

These works are, indeed, real-life examples of the bucolic song being etched into the bark of a tree in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. But their journey did not end there. Throughout the repertory, hints of a connection between South and North begin to emerge in the numerous concordances between Neapolitan sources and manuscripts produced north of Rome. Moreover, as shown in table V.7, a num-

ber of these songs have more than one musical setting, traveling beyond Naples as texts to be sung without retaining their Neapolitan musical garb. Perhaps the most striking example is that of "In eternu voglio amare," a Neapolitan *barzelletta* with two musical settings: a Neapolitan setting in Perugia 431, and a completely different setting attributed to Marco Cara in Petrucci Frottole I in addition to several northern manuscript sources (listed in table V.7).

As discussed in part I, the oral performance tradition in Naples certainly did not exist in isolation, but rather flourished as part of a widespread practice of musico-poetic improvisation throughout Quattrocento Italy. The fundamental state of mixed orality within which poet-singers practiced their art resulted in written copies of simple and unusual songs, many of which made their way far beyond their point of origin through a mix of oral and written means. Moreover, the repertorial connections in the Italian-texted song of northern and southern Italy serve only to further prove what we already know. Partially due to the political and familial ties between the Aragonese kings and the ruling families in cities like Florence, Ferrara, and Milan, artistic and intellectual exchange between Naples and the rest of Italy was a vibrant and extensive phenomenon.

Though it goes beyond the scope of this book, additional study into the connections between the Neapolitan song repertory and northern Italian courts may shed some light on the practice and production of Italian vernacular song (eventually known in modern scholarship as the "frottola") at the turn of the sixteenth century.[130] Though often underestimated by historians, Naples's intellectual and artistic influence, and in this case its song tradition, reached far beyond its borders through the diplomatic and creative activities of its citizens.[131] Indeed, the poetry and song heard throughout Aragonese-ruled Naples embraced diversity and community as one, and in so doing, became the voice of a Kingdom.

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130   The example of "In eternu voglio amare" provides just one of many clues to such a connection.

131   One recent study by Matteo Soranzo emphasizes the problematic conception of Naples, and consequently of Neapolitan identity, as a receiver of culture, rather than as a producer: Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity*. Within the discipline of history, scholarship on early modern Naples has been revitalized by the late John Marino, who focused primarily on the economics and social structures of rural and urban areas throughout southern Italy. See in particular: Marino, *Pastoral Economics*; Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan*. Marino's work has spurred many other studies into different aspects of early modern Naples, which were discussed and celebrated in a special commemorative panel at the 2016 annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Boston: "Reimagining Early Modern Naples and Southern Italy: A Tribute to John Marino," led by Julius Kirshner (University of Chicago) with contributions from Marino's students and friends: John Jeffries Martin (Duke University), Sean Cocco (Trinity College), Karl R. Appuhn (New York University), and John A. Davis (University of Connecticut). Beyond the period under investigation here, this impulse has been especially noteworthy in studies of Naples ca. 1500 to 1800 by Melissa Calaresu, Helen Hills, and Tommaso Astarita, among others. See, for example, Hills and Calaresu, *New Approaches to Naples*; Astarita, *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*.

Conclusion

The written records of lyric song in late-Quattocento Naples served a variety of purposes. Some constituted a simple act of preservation aimed at remembering a musico-poetic experience. Others fulfilled a more functional role as memorial aids to be used in performance. Still others worked to commemorate and memorialize a valued cultural practice. In a sociopolitical climate in which the dominant culture was that of the Kingdom's foreign usurpers, writing played a vital role in legitimizing and safeguarding the intellectual and artistic output of those native to southern Italy. In this way, to borrow from Giorgio Cardona, "writing represents the certain, the well-defined, and the lasting, against the ephemerality and variability of that which is entrusted to the voice alone."[1] The Neapolitan intellectuals and aristocrats who recorded and memorialized their tradition of lyric song asserted and concretized their communal voice within the literate sphere. They accorded legitimacy and authority to their own musico-poetic practice by documenting it in writing, essentially creating an ethnography of the self. By participating in various acts of self-ethnography, these native-born poets and singers endeavored to develop, maintain, and defend their own cultural identity against the politically fraught and heterogeneous society imported into the Kingdom of Naples by the Aragonese.

This calculated process of self-fashioning played out among varied intellectual networks at courts—both royal and aristocratic—throughout southern Italy. As I illustrated in part II, the Aragonese kings worked to centralize power in the city of Naples more and more over the course of their reign, gradually divesting feudal barons of their lands and estates and consequently drawing them from the rural provinces into the urban capital. By appropriating and redistributing wealth, the crown ultimately destabilized the Kingdom's established aristocratic order, creating a sense of chaos and crisis among the native nobility. Socially, politically, and aesthetically the dominant culture was Spanish, not Neapolitan. As a result, the locally based performance practice of singing lyric occupied a marginalized space as the artistic expression of a subjugated class. Performed in both royal and aristocratic court settings, lyric song often negotiated the subtleties of meaning accessible to a select few native Neapolitans while simultaneously serving as a source of entertainment and delight for a wider—typically Aragonese—audience.

For a final portrait of this tenuous balancing act, we must return to the example with which I opened this book's introduction: the anonymous sixteenth-century commentary to the popular song "Io te canto in discanto" performed for the 1496 royal wedding of King Ferdinando II d'Aragona to his half-aunt Giovanna.[2] In the

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1   "lo scritto rappresent[a] il certo, il ben definito, il duraturo, di contro alla caducità e inattendibilità di ciò che è rimasto affidato alla sola voce." Cardona, "Culture dell'oralità," 42.

2   This commentary is preserved in a manuscript held at Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms. XXVIII D 24. For full bibliographic details on the scholars who have worked on it, see note 1 in the introduction to this book.

course of her detailed annotations on that song's original performance context and veiled political meaning, the unnamed Neapolitan noblewoman who served as a lady-in-waiting to Queen Giovanna on her wedding day describes the festivities of the occasion in striking detail:

> The King married her, and [then] there was the most lavish of celebrations with the court decked out for a banquet fit for the greatest of kings. Nor, at the time of this universal happiness, beyond the dancing and feasting, were they missing a thousand joyful *intermedi* with music of every kind, with *farse*, and with eclogues, which were known there. And Pontano and Sannazzaro, who were there, were made to recite who knows how many of their Neapolitan *gliommeri*; and Cariteo, who Sannazaro calls Barcinio in his *Arcadia*, being the secretary to the king, was made to sing a thousand of his *frottole*, which he had composed in honor of his wonderfully beloved *Luna* under the name *Endimione*. And when the king wanted to go to bed, there appeared a masked dance of several knights richly dressed, and among them, there were two—one dressed as a peasant playing the bagpipe, and the other as a courtier playing the lyre. After having played a piece together harmoniously, these two sang this song [Io te canto in discanto]—the meaning of which you wish to know—which greatly pleased the listeners. And there were those who, thinking of the hour in which it was performed, judged it to be a rustic epithalamium [*epitalamio villanesco*], but it did not have that artifice that was heard in the song for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Finally, the song made the king laugh, and then the queen, and the king's courtiers for the vague coarseness of its words; although, the true meaning of [the song] was not understood by anyone except Sannazaro, Pontano, and Caracciolo.[3]

This rich account of the wedding festivities for King Ferdinando and Queen Giovanna paints a vivid picture of the role that court humanists and poets in Aragonese

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3   "il Rè la sposò, e vi fece una pomposissima festa con corte bannita, come si costuma di far da i' grand Rè. Hor questa sì universale allegrezza, oltre il danzare, e banchetteggiare non vi mancorno mille sollazzevoli intermedii de musiche d'ogni sorte di farse, d'egloghe, ch'ivi s'intesero; et il Pontano, et il Sanazzaro, che ivi erano ferno recitare non sò quanti di quelli loro gliommari napolitaneschi, et Carideo, che Barcinio è chiamato dal sannazaro nell'Arcadia, essendo costui secretario del Rè fè cantare mille sue frottole fatte da lui in lode della sua luna, di cui egli sotto nome d'endimione era mirabilmente invaghito, et all'hora ch'il Rè voleva andare in letto comparve una mascherata d'alquanti cavallieri riccamente addobbati fra i' quali vi furono due l'un vestito da contadino sonando una sordellina, e l'altro alla corteggiana sonando una lira, i' quali dopò haver sonato un pezzo concordemente cantaro questa canzona il cui intendimento voi signora desiate sapere, la quale porse non poco piacere à gl'ascoltanti, e vi fur di quelli, che vedendo l'hora che fu cantata la giudicaro per uno epitalamio villanesco, ma in esso non si vidde quello artificio, che in quel si cantò nelle nozze di Peleo, e di Theti, finalmente la canzone diede da ridere al Rè, et alla Regina, et à suoi corteggiani per la vaga ruzzezza delle parole di che era tessuta, benche il vero senzo di lei non fusse inteso da veruno fuorche dal Sanazzaro, e dal Pontano, e dal Caracciolo." Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms. XXVIII D 24, fols. 7r–8r; quoted in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 323. This passage is also addressed as an example of festivity in Aragonese Naples in Addesso, *Teatro e festività*, 14–15.

Naples fulfilled in developing and performing the entertainments for major royal celebrations. In addition to the typical feasting and dancing that took place at such events, the wedding guests were treated to a variety of musical *intermedi*, *farse*, and *egloghe*, seemingly organized by some of the Kingdom's foremost humanist poets: Giovanni Pontano, Iacopo Sannazaro, and Benedetto Gareth (il Cariteo). Furthermore, in describing the performance of Sannazaro's *gliommeri* and Cariteo's *mille frottole*,[4] the commentary is careful to reference Cariteo's two literary nicknames—his pastoral identity, Barcinio, in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and his Petrarchan identity, Endimione, in his own lyric songs to his beloved Luna—as if to emphasize his status as an initiated member of the local Neapolitan *intelligentsia* despite his Catalan origins.[5]

Throughout, these poet-performers seem to follow an aesthetic program that mixes bucolic and courtly love lyric, low and high culture. Nowhere is this juxtaposition more prominent, however, than in the costumed performance of "Io te canto in discanto." Among a group of richly dressed knights, the anonymous commentator explains, two stood out: one dressed as a peasant playing the shepherd's pipe (*sordellina*) and the other dressed as a courtier playing the lyre. Together this musical duet performed in harmony, first instrumentally and then in song. The song was, of course, "Io te canto in discanto," and its performance (unsurprisingly sung *in discanto*) greatly delighted the audience.[6] Remarkably, the song's subversive political meaning—criticizing the king's father—was obscured by "the vague coarseness of its words" ("la vaga ruzzezza delle parole di che era tessuta"), which incited amusement and laughter in the royal newlyweds and their courtiers.[7]

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4   The commentator's use of the term "frottole" here is almost certainly an anachronism following the influence of Petrucci's *frottola* books in the early sixteenth century. Cariteo's *rime*, eventually published in full under the title *Endimione* in 1509, do not include any poems that might be labeled as "frottole." Rather, it is made up of a combination of Petrarchan-style lyric poetry, including 214 sonnets, twenty *canzoni*, five *sestine*, five *ballate*, and three madrigals. See Kennedy, "Citing Petrarch in Naples," esp. 1201–2.

5   Benedetto Gareth *detto* il Cariteo (1450–1514) was born and raised in Barcelona until the age of seventeen or eighteen when he relocated to Naples. Once in Naples, he was employed in various roles by leading members of the Aragonese royal family, and he would eventually become one of the most prolific and influential Neapolitan vernacular poet-singers of the period, so much so that Vincenzo Calmeta famously attested to the influence his style of singing and composing *strambotti* had on the renowned Serafino Aquilano after the two poets met in Milan. On Cariteo's biography and literary output more generally, see Amidei, *Alla Luna*. On his influence on Serafino, see my discussion in part V.

6   On the anonymous commentary's definition of the term "discanto," see the introduction to this book.

7   According to the commentary, the song criticizes the comportment of Ferdinand II's father Alfonso II, whose short-lived reign as king (r. 1494–95) was fraught with conflict before he abdicated the throne in favor of his more popular son. On the song's political meaning, see also my discussion in the introduction.

Veiled in such a way that it would be grasped "by the few and wise [*pochi e savii*], much more so than the many and ignorant [*molti, e ignoranti*],"[8] its "true sense" was understood only by Sannazaro, Pontano, and Giovan Francesco Caracciolo—all three humanist poets active in the *Accademia Pontaniana*.[9]

That a song of this kind could be performed without repercussion at a royal wedding—a major state-sponsored occasion—in Aragonese Naples speaks to the intricate subtleties of political and aesthetic meaning with which Neapolitan lyric was imbued. Weaving a mix of coarse language into a seemingly comedic caricature of popular culture, the truth behind the Neapolitan idioms and linguistic color in "Io te canto in discanto" no doubt required the type of insider knowledge that only a member of the local aristocracy would have.[10] The binary aesthetic juxtaposing low and high cultures—or, as in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, nature and artifice—served a fundamental purpose, then. By clouding lyric song's deeper significance among the linguistic features and conventions of the subjugated local population, aristocratic functionaries and members of the royal court could simultaneously assert their voices under the guise of courtly entertainment and undermine their foreign rulers without fear of discovery—especially when few, if any, written records of such performances ever existed.

Oscillating between the inscrutable ephemerality of oral performance and the legitimizing permanence of written preservation, the tradition of singing Neapolitan lyric served as an expressive outlet and valued cultural practice for the Kingdom's intellectual and noble classes. Within this tradition, the prevalence of orality in both composition and transmission allowed songs a level of fluidity that encouraged semantic ambiguity. Indeed, in addressing the popularity of "Io te canto in discanto," the song's sixteenth-century commentator laments its inevitable corruption through oral dissemination: "it could have become crude, and extremely garbled, having passed through the minds [literally: judgment] and the mouths of simple-minded youths."[11] The differing versions of an orally transmitted song such as this one need not be considered corruptions or barbarisms, however. Rather, as I have discussed, they constitute the variety of possible interpretations for a memory-based lyric framework.

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8   "da pochi e savii; assai più che da molti, e ignoranti." Quoted from Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms. XXVIII D 24, fol. 9r in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 324.

9   On Caracciolo, see note 4 in the introduction.

10 Sannazaro and Caracciolo were both born into Naples's urban aristocracy. Pontano, while born outside the Kingdom in Umbria, married the Neapolitan noblewoman Adriana Sassone, which granted him entrance into the city's *nobiltà di seggio* as well. On the urban aristocracy and the marriage between Pontano and Adriana Sassone in particular, see part II.

11 "possa essere divenuta barbara, et oscurissima per esser passata per giuditio, e per bocca de semplici fanciulli." Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, ms XXVIII D 24, fol. 9r; quoted in Naselli, "L'antica canzone napoletana," 324.

Although a significant corpus of Neapolitan lyric texts was preserved in writing during this period, there is little to no evidence to suggest that those transcriptions were considered the fixed or authoritative versions of each song. In fact, the variants among concordant song texts discussed in part V plainly show that they were not. In this context, writing seems to have served as a complement to oral practice—an extension of the memory that could be called upon as needed, either for the purposes of performance or personal recollection. As evidence of a marginalized cultural practice, the externalized permanence of that written memory appears to have had another purpose as well. By entering into the visual field in all its varied forms, lyric song was transformed into a tangible artifact that leant a sense of cultural validity to the Neapolitan aristocracy's musico-poetic art.

As I have addressed throughout this book, the production and transmission of lyric song, through both oral and written means, were integral to the formation of a more stable communal identity among members of the Kingdom's aristocracy. Compiled in a range of styles and formats, the musical and literary manuscripts that preserve this repertory engage with that process in varying ways—from the personal collection of a single scribe-compiler to the intersecting and often revisionary efforts of a large collaborative group and many levels in between. The texts in these sources adhere predominantly to the stylistic and generic conventions of Neapolitan lyric; however, a subsection also attests to the imported song practices of the Kingdom's dominant Iberian culture. As artifacts of a local tradition, such written records reveal a dual reality in the intersection of foreign and local cultures: they demonstrate both the profound influence that Spanish culture had on Neapolitan song and the ways in which native Neapolitan poet-singers took control of that influence by infusing it with elements of their own lyric style. The written archive of lyric song that I have studied in this book, therefore, reflects the complex negotiation of socio-political identities that permeated late-Quattrocento Naples. By preserving and memorializing this inherently Neapolitan performance practice, the Kingdom's varied networks of poets, musicians, and intellectuals made visible and lasting the power of their collective voices.

Appendices

Appendix A: Repertoire Census of 106 Italian-Texted Songs in Neapolitan Music Manuscripts of the 1480s–90s

1. (Io son maistro)—textless

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris, Paris 676 (text plus 11 quatrains)
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*canzonetta*/*barzelletta*?)
No. of lines:	–
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*ottonari* in Paris 676 (none in Seville-Paris)
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

2. A la Chaza, a la chaza

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris, Paris 676, Leipzig1494, FN Panciatichi 27, Florence BR 337 (B only)
Poetic Mss:	*Lamento de una giovinetta*, *Operetta de uno che finge avere cercato*, Fn II.IX.42 (anthology of Giannozzo Salviati)
Poet:	Giannozzo Salviati?
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*caccia*?)
No. of lines:	2 stanzas (long)
Rhyme scheme:	irregular
Meter/line length:	7- and 8-syllable lines
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G mixolydian
Mensuration:	C dot; Cut C; Cut C / 3; Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

3. A latre perche robate

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Pesaro 1144, Foligno fragment
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	ab . . .
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C; Cut C / 3; Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C5
Layout:	choirbook

4. Ai lasio ad quanti feri la sete toglio

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Milan Tr55 (same text, diff. music)
Poetic Mss:	Bald228, Can99, FN II.X.54, FN 1111, PesOliv54, Pm201, Vaticano latino 5159, Vaticano latino 5170, as well as numerous print collections of works by Serafino
Poet:	Serafino Aquilano
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines:	[8]
Rhyme scheme:	a . . .
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabo*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, F4
Layout:	choirbook

5. Aio stentato ancora piu

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (?)
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	AB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4?
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, F3, C3
Layout:	compact choirbook

6. Aio te postu nome turlurera

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (?)
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	AA
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G mixolydian
Mensuration:	No mensuration sign (binary groupings)
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

7. Alla cazza te te te sona forte

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*caccia/canzonetta*?)
No. of lines:	4
Rhyme scheme:	unclear
Meter/line length:	11 and 7-syllable lines
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Circle (empty)
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

8. Alle stamengne

Musical Mss: Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Barzelletta/Canto carnascialesco*
No. of lines: 9
Rhyme scheme: ABC DEDEEC
Meter/line length: 7- and 8-syllable lines
No. of voices: 4
Mode: D Dorian
Mensuration: C dot
Cleffing: C2, C4, C4, F3
Layout: compact choirbook

9. Alta regina fonte d'ongni amor

Musical Mss: Montecassino 871; Trent93 (second stanza in Latin only, "Virgo Maria")
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Lauda*/motet (Italian and Latin)
No. of lines: 8
Rhyme scheme: irregular
Meter/line length: 10–12-syllable lines
No. of voices: 3
Mode: G Mixolydian
Mensuration: Circle (empty)
Cleffing: C1/G2, C3, C3
Layout: choirbook

10. Amor che t'o fat hio che me day guerra

Musical Mss: Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss: Vaticano latino 10656, Vaticano latino 5159, Vaticano latino 11255
Poet: ["Saraphinus"]
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines: 2
Rhyme scheme: AB[ABABAB]
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 4
Mode: D Dorian
Mensuration: Cut circle
Cleffing: C2, C4, C4, F3
Layout: compact choirbook

11. **Amor tu non me gabaste;** *2da pars*: **Io averia voluntate**

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Pix
Poetic Mss:	Paris 1035
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABBACDCC [DBBA]
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	3 or 4
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, (C3), C4
Layout:	choirbook (Perugia 431); compact choirbook (Montecassino 871), *2da pars* at bottom of the first opening of the ms

12. **Ben finirò questa misera vita**

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Ballata* (?)
No. of lines:	1
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabo*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	(no mensuration sign—clearly binary meter)
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C4 then C3 (*2da pars*)
Layout:	choirbook

13. **Captivo sopra della terra**

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	1
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	9-syllable line (?)
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

14. Cavalcha Sinisbaldo tuta la note

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Villanesca napoletana* (*Strambotto* with refrain)
No. of lines:	4 + 8 (with repeats)
Rhyme scheme:	irregular
Meter/line length:	varied (5–12 syllables)
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C; 3; Cut 3
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C3, F4
Layout:	choirbook

15. Che fa la ramanzina

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (popular song setting)
No. of lines:	5 (last line a repeat)
Rhyme scheme:	irregular
Meter/line length:	7 (?)
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C3, F4
Layout:	choirbook

16. Chiave chiave

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta/Canto carnascialesco*
No. of lines:	1 (half)
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	4-syllable incipit [Alle chiave alle chiavone]
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Hypodorian (plagal)
Mensuration:	Cut C; C dot
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C5
Layout:	compact choirbook

17. Chore cum laqua care mie vicine

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (truncated)
No. of lines:	6
Rhyme scheme:	ABABAB[??]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, F4
Layout:	compact choirbook

18. Con gran disdigno

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	5-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut circle
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

19. Cor mio volunturiosu dura dura

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	Paris 1035, PesOliv54, Vaticano latino 10656
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	1 1/2
Rhyme scheme:	AB[ABABAB]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C2, F3, F3, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

20. Correno multi cani ad una cazia

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8, incipit only Montecassino 871
Rhyme scheme:	ABABAB [AB]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3 (Perugia 431) or 4 (Montecassino 871)
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, (C3), F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

21. Curte ca 'scurte la mia vita trista

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

22. De piage roce/core duro più que sasso

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	11-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C4, F4, G3 (low clefs)
Layout:	choirbook

23. De placebo la vita mia

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	8/9-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

24. De sartor nui siam maestri

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	*Canzone per andare in maschera* (print source in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palat. E.6.5.47 and Biblioteca Riccardiana 276)
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Canto carnascialesco* (form of a *barzelletta*)
No. of lines:	38
Rhyme scheme:	AA BCDCD . . .
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

25. Dell arboro chanta

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	Vaticano latino 5159 (?)
Poet:	[Serafino (?)]
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto*
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	9-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	[C dot]—no mensuration sign
Cleffing:	C1, C4, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

26. Din diri din

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871; related: Madrid 1335 (*Cancionero de Palacio*) and Paris 12744 (monophonic)
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	"*Canzone* alla villotta" (Ghisi), Romance (Romeu Figueroa), pop. song
No. of lines:	5 (refrain + stanza), more in other sources
Rhyme scheme:	AA ABAB AA etc.
Meter/line length:	6–8 syllable lines (not totally clear)
No. of voices:	3 (Montecassino 871) or 4 (Madrid 1335)
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	C dot
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C5
Layout:	compact choirbook

27. Dolce speranza del cor mio

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Ballata* (*mezzana*)?
No. of lines:	5 (incomplete)
Rhyme scheme:	ABB CD
Meter/line length:	mix of *settenari* and *endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Circle (empty)
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

28. Famene um pocho de quella mazacrocha

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris, Canti C
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Japart
Genre:	Undetermined (popular song setting)
No. of lines:	3
Rhyme scheme:	AAB?
Meter/line length:	11- and 7-syllable lines
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

29. Fati bene a sto meschino (B)

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris, Pix, Paris 676
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*canzonetta*/*barzelletta*)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C; 3
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

30. Fatti bene a 'sto meschino (A)

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (one stanza *canzonetta*?)
No. of lines:	4; 3 (7 total)
Rhyme scheme:	ABAB/aCC (d?)
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C; 3; Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

31. Fin che vivo e poi la morte

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Paris 676, Paris 1597, Modena α.F.9.9
Poetic Mss:	I-Ra 146; Vaticano latino 5159
Poet:	Saxo de Modena (?) or Bernardo Giambullari (?)
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	9
Rhyme scheme:	ABAB CDCD B
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	A Aeolian
Mensuration:	Cut C; 3; Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C2, C4
Layout:	choirbook

32. Fo qui pronare amore

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (possibly *strambotto*?)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	7-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F4
Layout:	compact choirbook

33. Foll'è chi vole amare

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	Vaticano latino 10656
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	[8]
Rhyme scheme:	?
Meter/line length:	*ottonari* (mostly)
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3
Layout:	choirbook

34a. Fortuna desperata

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Bologna Q 16, Seville-Paris, Paris 676, Pesaro 1144, Segovia, etc. (See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs* for full list.)
Poetic Mss:	London, British Library, Add. Ms. 16439 (only first stanza agrees with Paris 676 and Perugia 431)
Poet:	–
Composer:	[Busnois]
Genre:	Undetermined (*canzonetta/barzelletta*)
No. of lines:	12 (Seville-Paris: one stanza)
Rhyme scheme:	abba acca aded
Meter/line length:	*settenari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C4, C3
Layout:	choirbook

34b. Fortuna desperata [crossed out]

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, F121, Frankfurt20, Lo35087, Segovia
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*canzonetta/barzelletta*)
No. of lines:	text incipit
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*settenario*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C4
Layout:	sketch/choirbook

35. Gentil madonna (Fortuna las)

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Berlin K, Escorial B, Sched, Mellon, Cord, Seville-Paris, Pix, Pavia 362, Bologna Q 16 (in index, but lost)
Poetic Mss:	London, British Library, Ms. Harley 7333 ("Fortune alas, alas what haue I gylt")
Poet:	[Italian text: Giustinian?]
Composer:	[Bedingham]
Genre:	*Ballata* (poetic); French *ballade* (musical)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	–
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Circle (empty); Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3
Layout:	compact choirbook

36. I sideri vostri

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	6-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C3/C2, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

37. In eternu voglio amare

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431; same text, diff. music: Florence BR 230, Florence BR 337, Petrucci Frottole I
Poetic Mss:	Cappon. 193
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	11
Rhyme scheme:	ABBA CDCD DAA
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	C2; Cut C / 2; Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, F4, C3
Layout:	choirbook

38. In tempo che facia lo sacrificio

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	Vaticano latino 10656
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	AB[ABABAB]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C3, C5
Layout:	compact choirbook

39. In tormento sempre vivo

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Aedvardus Ortonensis
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	1
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*ottonario*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C; 3
Cleffing:	C1, C4, F3
Layout:	choirbook

40. Io non so surdo ne ceco in tuctu

Musical Mss: Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines: 8
Rhyme scheme: ABABABCC
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 5 (orig. 3?)
Mode: F Lydian
Mensuration: Cut C / 3
Cleffing: C1, C3, F3, F3, C3
Layout: choirbook

41. Io sento amore con sue orrende stridor

Musical Mss: Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto*
No. of lines: 2
Rhyme scheme: ab . . .
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 3
Mode: D Hypodorian (plagal)
Mensuration: Cut C
Cleffing: C1, C2, C4
Layout: compact choirbook

42. Io sento d'onne banda suspirare

Musical Mss: Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: Vaticano latino 10656
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines: 8
Rhyme scheme: ABABABAB
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 3
Mode: D Dorian
Mensuration: N/A (binary groupings)
Cleffing: C1, C4, F4
Layout: compact choirbook

43. Io vegio la mia vita ja finire

Musical Mss: Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (?)
No. of lines: 1
Rhyme scheme: –
Meter/line length: *endecasillabo*
No. of voices: 3
Mode: D Dorian
Mensuration: Circle (empty)
Cleffing: C2, C4, F3
Layout: compact choirbook

44. La bassa castiglya (Falla con misuras)

Musical Mss: Bologna Q 16, Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: Gulielmus
Genre: Undetermined (*Basse danse* melody)
No. of lines: incipit only
Rhyme scheme: –
Meter/line length: 6-syllable incipit
No. of voices: 2
Mode: D Dorian
Mensuration: Cut Circle (C) and Circle dot (T)
Cleffing: C1/C2, C4/C5
Layout: choirbook

45. La Martinella

Musical Mss: Seville-Paris, Bologna Q 16, Pix, F229, Verona 757, RCas, RCG,
                    Trent89, Trent91, Glog, Segovia (tablature)—5 diff. versions
                    (See Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*.)
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: Johannes Martini
Genre: Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines: incipit only
Rhyme scheme: –
Meter/line length: 5-syllable incipit
No. of voices: 3
Mode: G Dorian
Mensuration: Cut C; 3; (Cut C)
Cleffing: C1, C4, F4
Layout: choirbook

46. La morte che spavento de felice

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	*Opere nuove dello altissimo poeta fiorentino*
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4 (Perugia 431); 3 (Seville-Paris)
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, (C3), C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

47. La rocca de fermeça

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (possibly *ballata*?)
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	7-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C5
Layout:	choirbook

48. La taurina

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	4-syllable incipit (?)
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C4
Layout:	choirbook

49. La vida de culin

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	Paris 1035
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined
No. of lines:	5
Rhyme scheme:	irregular
Meter/line length:	*settenari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

50. Lassare amore

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	5-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, F3
Layout:	choirbook

51. Lenchioza mia lenchioza balarina (Nenciozza mia Nenciozza balarina)

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris, *Canti C*, F229, Odh, SG461, SG530 (tabl.), I-Ra 346 (tabl.)
Poetic Mss:	*La Nencia da Barberino* (stanzas 20–21)
Poet:	Lorenzo de' Medici (?)
Composer:	Martini
Genre:	Undetermined (popular song setting, *strambotto* text)
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	AA . . .
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	Cut C; 3
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

52. Lent et scolorito [Elend du hast]

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16 [Dij, FR2356, Perugia 431 (textless), Pix, Sched, Tarragona]
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Morton
Genre:	Undetermined
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	6-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut Circle
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

53. Leta speranza mia

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*strambotto*?)
No. of lines:	1
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*settenario*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C5
Layout:	choirbook

54. Lisa dea damisella

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1032 and Treviso, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 1612 (?)
Poet:	Giustinian (?)
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Ballata* (?)
No. of lines:	incipit cues
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*settenari*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	A aeolian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4/ C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

55. Lo giorno mi consumo suspirando

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris and Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Busta Davari 16, loose frag.
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

56. L'uccello mio chiamo

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Paris 676, FN Panciatichi 27, Modena α.9.9 (same C, diff. T, Ca, Cb)
Poetic Mss:	Modena α.M.7.32, Naples BNN XVII.1, *Opere nuove dello altissimo poeta fiorentino*
Poet:	Francesco Galeota
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	C Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C (/ 3)—3 missing from Perugia 431, but present in Paris 676
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, F3
Layout:	choirbook

57. Merce te chiamo o dolce anima mia

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Escorial B, BU2216
Poetic Mss:	Giustinian, *Comincia el fiore*, Paris 1069, Siena, Bibli. Comunale degli Intronati, Ms. I.VII.15; related: Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Ms. It. Cl. IX
Poet:	[Giustinian (?)]
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Ballata*
No. of lines:	7
Rhyme scheme:	ABBA CCC
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Circle (empty)
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C4
Layout:	choirbook

58. Mirando l'ochyi de costeyi

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	8-syllable incipit (?)
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C4, F4, G3 (low clefs)
Layout:	choirbook

59. Moro perche non day fede

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Seville-Paris, Pix, F176
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Cornago
Genre:	*Barzelletta*/Italian-texted *Cancion*
No. of lines:	9
Rhyme scheme:	ABABACDCD
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	[Common C] no mensuration sign
Cleffing:	C2, F3, F3
Layout:	choirbook

60. Morte che fai che non pigli sta spoglia

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Segovia, Paris 676, Modena α F.9.9 (missing)
Poetic Mss:	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms. Palat. 219, Vaticano latino 5170
Poet:	Serafino (?)
Composer:	[Isaac]
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	ab . . .
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	A aeolian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C3, C5
Layout:	choirbook

61. Morte merze gentile aquil'altera

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Escorial B, Cord (diff. version)
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Cornago
Genre:	*Ballata/Canzone*?
No. of lines:	7 (14 in Escorial B)
Rhyme scheme:	ABA ACDE
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi* and *settenari*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	3; Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

62. Non sia gyamay (Madame trop vos me spremes)

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Bologna Q 16 ("Madame trop vous"), F229, Perugia 431, Pix, Wolf, Spec, [FR2356, lost]
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Dux Burgensis—Charles the Bold (Perugia 431)
Genre:	*Rondeau* 5:8 (French vers.: Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*.)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	4-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

63. Non te fidare se a te ciascun se arende

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431; Milan Tr55 (same text, diff. music)
Poetic Mss:	Vaticano latino 13704, Vaticano latino 5159, Ferrara I.408, FN 701, Riccardiana 2723 , Modena It. 809, Can99
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABCC
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, F4, C3
Layout:	choirbook

64. **Nui siamo qui per buractar**

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Canto carnascialesco* (form of a *barzelletta*)
No. of lines:	56 (7 stanzas)
Rhyme scheme:	ABBA CDDA (etc.)
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3/C2, F3
Layout:	choirbook

65. **O generosa**

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	5-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Circle (empty)
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

66. **O partita crudele**

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	I-Mac A.III.8
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (?)
No. of lines:	1 (half)
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*settenario* (but full text: 11 syllables)
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C3, F3
Layout:	choirbook

67. O pellegrina, o luce clara stella

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, F176, Pavia 362, Trent88, Cord
Poetic Mss:	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 1117, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 8914, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Ms. I.VII.15, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. it.IX.110 (6744), Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. it.IX.346 (6323)
Poet:	[Giustinian (?)]
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (poetic); French *ballade* (musical)
No. of lines:	6 1/2 (incomplete)
Rhyme scheme:	ABABAB[CC]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, F3, F3
Layout:	choirbook

68. O rosa bella

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871 (Ct only), Perugia 431, Seville-Paris, Escorial B, Berlin K, Dij, Cord, Pix, Pavia 362, Porto714, Trent89, Trent90, Trent93, VatUrbLat1411, Wolf, etc. (See full list in Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*.)
Poetic Mss:	Giustinian, *Comincia el fiore*, Paris 1035, Paris 1069
Poet:	[Giustinian]
Composer:	[Dunstable]/ anon.
Genre:	*Ballata*
No. of lines:	Incipit only; cues in Montecassino 871 (literary sources, 8 lines)
Rhyme scheme:	[AA BCBCCD]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Circle (empty)
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C4 (Perugia 431); C2, C4, C4 (Seville-Paris); C4 (Montecassino 871)
Layout:	choirbook

69. O tempo bono e chi me t'[h]a levato

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	Modena α.7.32, Naples BNN XVII.1 (two versions), Vaticano latino 10656 (two copies)
Poet:	Francesco Galeota
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	AB[ABABAB]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C / 3
Cleffing:	C2, C3, C3
Layout:	compact choirbook

70. O vos homines qui transite

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	Paris 1035
Poet:	–
Composer:	Oriola
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	8 (in music ms); 20 (total)
Rhyme scheme:	ABBA CDCD [DBBA EFEFFBBA]
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

71. O Zano bello Zano caza fora le capre

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (popular song setting)
No. of lines:	10–14? (line lengths unclear)
Rhyme scheme:	irregular
Meter/line length:	6–8 syllable lines
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C; 3; Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

72. Orsu cusi va el mondo

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Florence Basevi 2441 (text, not music)
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	M.
Genre:	*Oda*
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABBC CDDE . . .
Meter/line length:	*settenari/quaternari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	A aeolian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C5/F3
Layout:	choirbook

73. Per la abscencia

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	5-syllable incipit (?)
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C5
Layout:	choirbook

74. Per la goula

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	4-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	C Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	F3, F4, G3 (low clefs)
Layout:	choirbook

75. Per poco tempo ch'io so stato fora

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto*
No. of lines:	1 1/2
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	C Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

76. Per scriptores: Orsu su car signori

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Canto carnascialesco*
No. of lines:	21
Rhyme scheme:	. . .
Meter/line length:	7-8 syllable lines
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	C Ionian
Mensuration:	C dot; Cut C; Cut C / 3; Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	choirbook

77. Per zenteleze

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	5-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Dorian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C4
Layout:	choirbook

78. Piangendo chiamo surda et crudele morte

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto*
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	AB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3 or 4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, (C4), F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

79. Pover me mischin dolente

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Ycart
Genre:	*Barzelletta* (?)
No. of lines:	4
Rhyme scheme:	ABBA
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, F3
Layout:	choirbook

80. Quanto mi dolse la nigra/aliegra partita

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871 ("nigra"); Seville-Paris ("aliegra")
Poetic Mss:	Vaticano latino 11255 ("crudel")
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	2 (Montecassino 871); 8 (Seville-Paris)
Rhyme scheme:	AB[ABABAB]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Common C (Montecassino 871) / Cut C (Seville-Paris)
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

81. Quanto mi dolse sta crudel partita

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto*
No. of lines:	2
Rhyme scheme:	AB[. . .]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

82. Quanto piu li ochi mei

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto*
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	6-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

83a. Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	none (quotations from Petrarch *Rvf*, no. 185)
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines:	[8]
Rhyme scheme:	[ababcc]
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

83b. Questa fenice de l'aurata piuma

Musical Mss: Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: none (quotations from Petrarch *Rvf*, no. 185)
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines: 8
Rhyme scheme: abababcc
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 4
Mode: G Mixolydian
Mensuration: Cut C
Cleffing: C1, C4, C3, F4
Layout: choirbook

84. Quisto aflicto corpu

Musical Mss: Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*toscano*)—missing verses
No. of lines: 5
Rhyme scheme: ABACC
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 3
Mode: G Dorian
Mensuration: N/A (binary groupings)
Cleffing: C1, C4, F4
Layout: compact choirbook

85. Rayson avi ti multo ingrosso

Musical Mss: Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: Undetermined (*rondeau* form?)
No. of lines: incipit only
Rhyme scheme: –
Meter/line length: 9-syllable incipit
No. of voices: 3
Mode: D Dorian
Mensuration: Cut C
Cleffing: C1, C1, C4
Layout: choirbook

86. Se fosse certo che più non se amasse

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, W243
Poetic Mss:	Vaticano latino 10656
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

87. Se io te o dato

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Ycart
Genre:	*Barzelletta* (?)
No. of lines:	–
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	9-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	C mixolydian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, F3
Layout:	choirbook

88. Senti li spiritj mej

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto/Lauda* (?)
No. of lines:	1
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	*settenario/ottonario*?
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	No mensuration sign (binary groupings)
Cleffing:	C1, C3, F3, C3
Layout:	compact choirbook

89. Sera nel core mio doglia et tormento

Musical Mss: Montecassino 871, Perugia 431, Bologna Q 16, Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss: Riccardiana 2752, Vaticano latino 11255, *Epigrammata Cantalycii*
                    (Venice, 1493) with Latin translation in elegiac couplets
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines: 8 (incipit only in Bologna Q 16, Montecassino 871)
Rhyme scheme: ABABABAB
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 3 (Per/ Seville-Paris); 4 (Bologna Q 16, Montecassino 871)
Mode: F Lydian
Mensuration: Cut C (Montecassino 871, Bologna Q 16, Seville-Paris);
                    Common C (Perugia)
Cleffing: C1, C3, C3, F3
Layout: compact choirbook

90. Si dio sscendess' in terra me dicesse

Musical Mss: Bologna Q 16
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines: 8
Rhyme scheme: ABABABCC
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 4
Mode: G Dorian
Mensuration: N/A (binary groupings)
Cleffing: C2, C3, C3, F3
Layout: compact choirbook

91. So stato nel inferno tanto tanto

Musical Mss: Seville-Paris, W243
Poetic Mss: Vaticano latino 10656, Vaticano latino 11255, *Epigrammata Cantalycii*
                    (Venice, 1493) with Latin translation in elegiac couplets
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines: 8
Rhyme scheme: ABABABAB
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 3
Mode: A aeolian
Mensuration: Common C
Cleffing: C2, C4, F3
Layout: compact choirbook

92. Sospirar cor mio po che perdisti

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris
Poetic Mss:	I-Mac A.I.4, Vaticano latino 10656 (opening: "Sospira cor mio poi ché perdisti")
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

93. Sufferir son disposto

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Paris 676, FN Panciatichi 27 (music only, diff. text), F121
Poetic Mss:	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Antinor 158, Bald228, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ms.Magl. VII.735, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. it. 1020, PesOliv54, Vaticano latino 5170, *Opere di Serafino* (Giuntina 1516), *Opere dello altissimo* (1524)
Poet:	"Ser[afino]"
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

94. Tanto ha ch'io t'[h]o contato li mei guai

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto*
No. of lines:	2 lines
Rhyme scheme:	AB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, C4, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

95. Terribile fortuna

Musical Mss:	Bologna Q 16, (French: Seville-Paris, Cop, Dij, F229, FR2794, Lab, RCas)
Poetic Mss:	Paris 1719 (French text)
Poet:	–
Composer:	[Busnoys]
Genre:	*Virelai* (4/2:8—Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*)
No. of lines:	incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	7-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2/C1, C4, F4
Layout:	choirbook

96. Trista che spera morendo

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Mellon (diff. musical setting, same text)
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	Oriola and Vincenet
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	[6]
Rhyme scheme:	ABB . . . (corrupt)
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C2, F3
Layout:	choirbook

97. Tu sei nel toi bel anni ora su nel fiore

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABCC
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, F3, C3
Layout:	choirbook

98. Una vecchia rencagnata

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Barzelletta*
No. of lines:	12
Rhyme scheme:	ABBA CCDCDC AA
Meter/line length:	*ottonari* + ?
No. of voices:	5 (orig. 3?)
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, F3, C3, F3
Layout:	choirbook

99. Vedera l'occhi miei la sepultura

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431, Modena α.F.9.9
Poetic Mss:	Bald228, FN 701 (two copies), Riccardiana 2723, Vaticano latino 5159
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABAB
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*
No. of voices:	4?
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C4/C3, C3, F4/F3
Layout:	choirbook

100. Vedo che fortuna me contrasta

Musical Mss: Montecassino 871, Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines: 8 (Perugia 431); 2 (Montecassino 871)
Rhyme scheme: ABABABAB
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 3
Mode: C mixolydian
Mensuration: Circle (empty); Cut C
Cleffing: C1, C3, F3
Layout: compact choirbook

101. Vego el luccio colla bocca aperta

Musical Mss: Perugia 431
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: *Strambotto* (*siciliano*)
No. of lines: 8
Rhyme scheme: ABABABCC
Meter/line length: *endecasillabi*
No. of voices: 4
Mode: C Ionian
Mensuration: Common C
Cleffing: C1, C3, C2, F3
Layout: choirbook

102. Vilana che sa tu far

Musical Mss: Seville-Paris, F229, Canti C
Poetic Mss: –
Poet: –
Composer: –
Genre: Undetermined (quodlibet-style)
No. of lines: 10+
Rhyme scheme: irregular
Meter/line length: 7-8 syllable lines
No. of voices: 4
Mode: F Lydian
Mensuration: Cut C
Cleffing: C1, C3, C4, F3
Layout: choirbook

103. Viva viva li galanti

Musical Mss:	Perugia 431
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Canto Carnascialesco / Barzelletta* (?)
No. of lines:	2.5
Rhyme scheme:	AA[. . .]
Meter/line length:	*ottonari*
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F4, C4
Layout:	choirbook

104. Voca la galiera

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871, Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (diff. text), Verona 757 (textless, new lower voices)
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	Undetermined
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	6-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	F Lydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C1, C3, C3, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook

105. Yo agio pianto tanto

Musical Mss:	Seville-Paris, Modena α.F.9.9
Poetic Mss:	*Opere nuove dello altissimo poeta fiorentino*
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)
No. of lines:	8
Rhyme scheme:	ABABABCC (rhymes a little off)
Meter/line length:	*endecasillabi*?—not all of them
No. of voices:	4
Mode:	G Mixolydian
Mensuration:	Cut C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F3, C4
Layout:	compact choirbook (C, T, Cb, Ca vertical)

106. Zappay lo campo

Musical Mss:	Montecassino 871
Poetic Mss:	–
Poet:	–
Composer:	–
Genre:	*Strambotto*
No. of lines:	Incipit only
Rhyme scheme:	–
Meter/line length:	5-syllable incipit
No. of voices:	3
Mode:	D Dorian
Mensuration:	Common C
Cleffing:	C2, C4, F3
Layout:	compact choirbook

Appendix B: Tables

In tables B.1 through B.4, census numbers for each song are written in parentheses next to the incipit. Layout is indicated by the following abbreviations: C (Choirbook) and CC (Compact Choirbook). Information in square brackets is supplied from external sources.

Fasc.	Page(s)	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
I	248–49	Io averia voluntate—*2da pars* of "Amor tu non me gabaste" (11)	none	*Barzelletta*	4	CC
	259	Per poco tempo ch'io so stato fora (75)	none	*Strambotto*	4	CC
	260	Tanto ha ch'io t'[h]o contato li mei guay (94)	none	*Strambotto*	4	CC
	260–61	O pellegrina o luce o clara stella (67)	[Giustinian?] / none	*Strambotto* (poetic) French *ballade* (musical)	3	C
	267	Voca la galiera (104)	none	Undet.	4	CC
	268	Zappay lo campo (106)	none	*Strambotto*	3	CC
	271	La vide de culin no dura pas tot iors (49)	none	Undet.	4	CC
	272–73	Amor tu non me gabaste (11)	none	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	273	Piangendo chiamo surda et crudele morte (78)	none	*Strambotto*	4	CC
	274	Dolce speranza del cor mio (27)	none	*Ballata* (*mezzana*)?	3	CC
	275	Moro perche non day fede (59)	none / Cornago	*Barzelletta* / Italian-texted *Cancion*	3	CC
	278	Morte merce gentile aquila altera (61)	none / Cornago	*Ballata* / *Canzone*?	3	CC
II	279	O vos homines qui transite (70)	none / Oriola	*Barzelletta*	3	CC

Table B.1. Italian-texted works in Montecassino 871.

Fasc.	Page(s)	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
V	341	O rosa bella (68)—only Contra part survives	[Giustinian] / [Dunstable]	*Ballata*	3	C
	341	Quanto piu li ochi mei (82)	none	*Strambotto*	3	CC
VI	348–49	Merce te chiamo o dolce anima mia (57)	[Giustinian] / none (Serafino?)	*Ballata*	3	C
	349	Del arboro (25)	none	*Strambotto*	3	CC
	370	Fortuna las [Gentil madonna] (35)	Italian text: [Giustinian?] / [Bedingham]	*Ballata* (poetic); French *ballade* (musical)	3	CC
VIII	404–5	Non sia gyamay [Madame trop vos me spremes] (62)	none / Dux Burgensis [Charles the Bold]	*Rondeau* 5;8 (French version—Fallows)	3	C
	407	In tempo che facia lo sacrificio (38)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	416	Quanto mi dolse sta crudel partita (81)	none	*Strambotto*	3	CC
	416	Quanto mi dolse la nigra partita (80)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	417	Din diri din (26)	none	"*Canzone* alla villotta" (Ghisi), Romance (Romeu Figueroa), popular song	3	CC
	418	Amor che to fat hio che me day guerra (10)	["Saraphinus" in Vaticano latino 5159] / none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	CC
	418–19	Cor mio volonturiuso dura dura (19)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	CC
	419	Vedo che fortuna me contrasta (100)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	420–21	Chiave chiave (16)	none	*Barzelletta / Canto carnascialesco*	4	C

Table B.1 (*continued*).

Fasc.	Page(s)	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
VIII	421	O tempo bono e chi me ta levato (69)	[Galeota] / none	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)	3	CC
	422–23	Alle stamengne (8)	none	*Barzelletta* / *Canto carnascialesco*	4	C
	424–25	Alta regina fonte dognni amor (9)	none	*Lauda* / motet (Italian and Latin)	3	C
IX	430	Sera nel cor mio doglia et tormento (89)	none	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)	4	CC
	431	Correno multi cani ad una cazia (20)	none	*Strambotto* (*siciliano*)	4	CC
	432	Io vegio la mia vita ja finire (43)	none	*Strambotto* (?)	3	CC

Table B.1 (*continued*).

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Probable Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
V	42v–43r	E	Orsu cusi va el mondo (72)	none / M.	*Oda*	4	C
	43v–44r	E	Pover me mischin dolente (79)	none / Ycart	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	45v–46r	E	Se io te [h]o dato (87)	none / Ycart	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	46v–47r	E	Morte che fai che non pigli sta spoglia (60)	Serafino (?) / Isaac	*Strambotto (toscano)*	4	C
	47v	E	Io sento amore con sue orrende stridor (41)	none	*Strambotto*	3	CC
VI	50v–51r	E	Questa fenice de laurata piuma (83b)	none	*Strambotto*	4	C
	51v–52r	B	Questa fenice de laurata piuma (83a)	none	*Strambotto*	3	C
	53v–54r	B	Ai lasio ad quanti feri la sete toglio (4)	Serafino / none	*Strambotto (toscano)*	4	C
	57v–58r	C	Per scriptores: Orsu su car signori (76)	none	*Canto carnascialesco*	4	C
VII	63v–64r	F	Textless (Lent et scolorito / Elend du hast) (52)	none / Morton	Undet. (?)	3	C
	64v–65r	F	Trista che spera morendo (96)	none / Oriola	*Barzelletta*	3	C
	65v–66r	F	Follè chi vole amare (33)	none	*Barzelletta*	3	C
	69v–70r	F	Madame trop vos me spremes [Non sia gyamay] (62)	none / Dux Burgensis [Charles the Bold]	*Rondeau* 5;8 (French version—Fallows)	3	
VIII	76v–77r	F	Amor tu non me gabasti (11)	none	*Barzelletta*	3	C
	79v–81r	F	Ben finirò questa misera vita (12)	none	*Ballata* (?)	3	C
	81v–82r	F	O rosa bella (anonymous version; 68)	Giustinian / none	*Ballata*	3	C
IX	83v–84r	F	Fortuna desperata (crossed out; 34b)	none / Busnoys (?)	*Canzonetta* (?)	3	C
	84v–85r	C	Fortuna desperata (34a)	none / Busnoys (?)	*Canzonetta* (?)	4	C

Table B.2. Italian-texted works in Perugia 431.

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Probable Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
IX	87v–88r	C	A latre perche robate le fatige (3)	none	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	88v–90r	C	In tormento sempre vivo (39)	none / Aedvardus Ortonensis	*Barzelletta*	3	C
X	92v–94r	A	Captivo sopra della terra (13)	none	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	95v–96r	C	Falla con misura (La bassa castiglya; 44)	none / Gulielmus	*Bassa danza*	2	C
	96v–97r	C	Fin che vivo e poi la morte (31)	Saxo de Modena (?) / none	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	97v–98r	B	Leta speranza mia (53)	none	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	99v–100r	C	In eternu voglio amare (37)	none	*Barzelletta*	4	C
	100v–101r	C	Non te fidare se a te ciascun se arende (63)	Serafino / none	*Strambotto (toscano)*	4	C
	101v–102r	C	Vego el luccio colla bocca aperta (101)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	C
	102v–103r	C	Tu sei nel toi bel anni ora su nel fiore (97)	none	*Strambotto (toscano)*	4	C
XI	104v–105r	C	Nui siamo qui per buractar (64)	none	*Canto carnascialesco*	3	C
	105v–106r	C	Vedera l'occhi miei la sepultura (99)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	C
	106v–107r	C	De sartor nui siamo maestri (24)	none	*Canto carnascialesco*	4	C
	107v	F	Sera nel core mio doglia e tormento (89)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	108r	F	Corrino molti cani ad una caza (20)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	108v–109r	F	La morte che spavento de felice (46)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	C
	109r	F	Se fosse certo che più non se amasse (86)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	109v	F	Vegio che la fortuna me contrasta (100)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	110r	F	Piangendo chiamo surda et crudele morte (78)	none	*Strambotto*	3	CC

Table B.2 (*continued*).

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Probable Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
XI	110v	F	Aio te postu nome turlurera (6)	none	*Strambotto*	3	CC
	111r	F	Aio stentato ancora più de uno anno (5)	none	*Strambotto*	4	CC
	111v	F	Io sento d'onne banda suspirare (42)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	3	CC
	112r	F	Quisto aflicto corpu miyo che stancho (84)	none	*Strambotto (toscano)*	3	CC
	112v–113r	F	Lucello mio chiamo jo perdo jornata (56)	Galeota / none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	C
	113v–114r	F	Viva viva li galanti (103)	none	*Canto carnascialesco*	4	C
	114v–115r	C	Io non so surdo ne ceco in tuctu (40)	none	*Strambotto (toscano)*	5	C
	115v–116r	C	Una vecchia rencagnata (98)	none	*Barzelletta (?)*	5	C
XII	116v–117r	B and C?	Sufferir so disposto omne tormento (93)	Serafino (?) / none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	C
	119v–120r	B	O partita crudele (66)	none	*Strambotto (?)*	4	C
	120v–121r	E	Senti li spiriti mei (88)	none	*Strambotto / Lauda (?)*	4	CC

Table B.2 (*continued*).

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
III	*Sev*4v (b5v)	1	La Martinella (70; version C)	none / Martini	Undet. (*Rondeau* form?)	1–5 (orig. 3)	C (page missing)
V	*Sev*32v–34r (d8v–10r)	1 and 4 (?)	A la Chaza, a la chaza (71)	none / none	Undet. (*Caccia*?)	4	C
V–VI	*Sev*34v–35r (d10v–e1r)	1	Vilana che sa tu far (72)	none / none	Undet. (quodlibet-style, tenor setting)	4	C
IX	*Sev*42r (g6r)	1	Yo agio pianto tanto che ormai (73)	none / none	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)	4	CC
X	*Par*21v–22r (h2v–h3r)	2	Gentile madone, de non m'abandonnaire (Gentil madonna; 35)	Giustinian (?) / Bedingham	*Ballata* (music: *ballade*)	3	C
	*Par*30v–*Sev*50r (h11v–h12r)	2	O rosa bella	Giustinian / Dunstable (?)	*Ballata*	3	C (split between *Par* / *Sev*)
XI	*Sev*55v–56r (j5v–j6r)	1	M'a vostre cueur mis en oubli (Terribile fortuna; Bologna Q16)	none / Busnoys	*Virelai*	3	C
XIV	*Sev*93v–94r (m7v–m8r)	3	Moro perche non day fede (10)	none / Cornago	*Barzelletta*	3	C
XV	*Par*40v–41r (n11v–n12r)	1 and 3	Fortuna desperata	none / Busnoys (?)	*Canzonetta* (?)	4	C

Table B.3. Italian-texted works in Seville–Paris.

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
XVII	Seu111v–113r (p1v–p3v)	1 and 5	Fatti bene asto meschino (A)	none / none	Undet. (Canzonetta?)	4	C
	Seu114v–115r (p4v–p5r)	1	(Io son maistro barileto)—textless	none / none	Undet. (Canzonetta?)	4	C
	Seu115v–116r (p5v–p6r)	1	Fate bene asto meschino (B)	none / none	Undet. (Canzonetta?)	4	C
	Seu116v (p6v)	1	So' stato nel inferno tanto tanto	none / none	Strambotto (sicil-iano)	3	CC
	Seu117r (p7r)	1	Lo giorno mi consumo suspirando	none / none	Strambotto (sicil-iano)	3	CC
	Seu117v (p7v)	1	Quanto mi dolse la aliegra partita	none / none	Strambotto (sicil-iano)	3	CC
	Seu118r (p8r)	1	Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento	none / none	Strambotto (sicil-iano)	3	CC
	Seu118v (p8v)	1	Curre cascurte la mia [vita] trista	none / none	Strambotto (sicil-iano)	3	CC
	Seu119r (p9r)	1	Sospirar cor mio po' che perdisti	none / none	Strambotto (sicil-iano)	3	CC
	Seu119v (p9v)	1	La morte che spavento de felice	none / none	Strambotto (sicil-iano)	3	CC
	Seu120r (p10r)	1	Chore cum l'acqua care mie vicine	none / none	Strambotto (?)	3	CC
XVIII	Seu128v–129r (q8v–q9r)	6	Famene um pocho de quella maza-crocha	none / Japart	Undet. (Tenor melody setting)	4	C

Table B.3 (*continued*).

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
XVIII–XIX	*Sev*130v–131r (q10v–r1r)	6	Lenchioza mia, lenchioza balarina	Lorenzo de' Medici / Martini (?)	Undet. (Tenor melody setting)	4	C
XIX	*Sev*131v–132r (r1v–r2r)	6	O zano, bello zano caza fora le capre	none / none	Undet. (Tenor melody setting)	4	C
	*Sev*133v–134r (r3v–r4r)	4	Cavalcha sinisbaldo tuta la note	none / none	*Villanesca napoletana* (*strambotto* with refrain)	4	C
	*Sev*134v–135r (r4v–r5r)	6	Che fa la ramanzina	none / none	Undet. (Tenor melody setting)	4	C

Table B.3 (*continued*).

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
I	9v–10r	Marsilius (1)	Lisa dea damisella	Giustinian (?) / none	*Ballata* (?)	3	C
II	16v–17r	Marsilius (1)	Per la abscencia	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	C
III	26v–27r	Marsilius (1)	La Taurina	none / none	Undet. (*Rondeau?*)	3	C
	34v–35r	Marsilius (1)	Mirando l'ochyi de costeyi	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	C
IV	40v–42r	Marsilius (1)	Terribile fortuna (M'a vostre cueur mis en oubli)	none / Busnoys	*Virelai* (with Italian text incipit)	3	C
	44v–45r	Marsilius (1)	Madame trop vos me spremes [Non sia gyamay]	none / Charles the Bold [Dux Burgensis]	*Rondeau*	3	
V	56v–57r	Marsilius (1)	De piage core duro piu che sasso	none / none	Undet. (*Rondeau?*)	3	C
VII	73v–74r	Marsilius (1)	La bassa castiglya [Falla con misura]	none / Gulielmus	*Bassa danza*	2	C
	74r	5	Si dio sscendess' in terra me decesse	none / none	*Strambotto* (*toscano*)	4	CC
	78r	Marsilius (1)	Fo qui pronare Amore	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	CC
	84v–85r	Marsilius (1)	Rayson aviti multo ingrosso	none / none	Undet. (*Rondeau?*)	3	C
	85v–86r	Marsilius (1)	Per la goula	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	C
VII–VIII	86v–87r	Marsilius (1)	Lassare amore	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	C
VIII	87v–88r	Marsilius (1)	I siderj vostri	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	C
	92v–93r	Marsilius (1)	La martinella	none / Martini	Undet. (*Rondeau?*)	3	C
X	113v–114r	Marsilius (1)	Per zenteleze	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	C
	114v–115r	Marsilius (1)	O Generosa	none / none	Undet. (*Strambotto?*)	3	C
	115v–116r	Marsilius (1)	De placebo la vita mia	none / none	Undet. (*Rondeau?*)	3	C

Table B.4. Italian-texted works in Bologna Q 16.

Fasc.	Folio(s)	Scribe	Incipit	Author / Composer	Genre	Voices	Layout
X	121v–122r	Marsilius (1)	Lent et scolorito [Elend du hast]	none / Morton	Undet.	3	C
XI	127r	2	Serà nel cor mio doglia e tormento	none / none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	4	CC
XII	132v–133r	2	Fortuna desperata	none / Busnoys (?)	Undet. (*Canzonetta?*)	4	C
XIV	140v–142r	2	La rocca de fermeça	none / none	Undet. (*Ballata?*)	3	C
XV	143v–144r	2	Alla cacza, alla cacza	none / none	*Caccia*	4	C
XVI	147v–148r	3	Con gran disdigno	none / none	Undet.	3	C

Table B.4 (*continued*).

405

C. no.	Incipit	Author	Composer	Genre	*Lauda* concordance
2	A la Chaza, a la chaza	Giannozzo Salviati?	none	Undet. (*Caccia*?)	"Iamo a Maria su a Maria" (anon.), *cantasi come* "Iamo alla *Caccia*" (GallettiL, p. 119, no. 264; and I-Rvat Ross. 424, 202r–v)
11	Amor tu non me gabaste	none	none	*Barzelletta*	"Vergine madre I'sono a te venuto" (anon.), *cantasi come* "Amor tu no mi gabbasti" (in I-Fr 2896, fol. 65)
12	Ben finirò questa misera vita	none	none	*Ballata* (?)	"Ben finirò cantando la mia vita" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "Ben finirò questa misera vita" (GallettiL, p. 31, no. 55 and I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 100, see CattinR)
16	Chiave chiave	none	none	*Barzelletta / Canto carnascialesco*	"Po' che 'l cor mi strigne e serra" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "Alle schiave alle schiavone" (ed. GallettiL, p. 53 (no. 108); also in I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 104 (see CattinR), *come* "Alle chiave alle chiavone"
31	Fin che vivo e poi la morte	Saxo de Modena (?) or Bernardo Giambullari (?)	none	*Barzelletta*	"Fin chi vivo and poi la morte" (Bernardo Giambullari), *cantasi come* . . .? (GallettiL, p. 269, no. 471; *Laude vecchie e nuove*, fol. 117r–v)
34a / b	Fortuna desperata	none	Felice or Busnoys	Undet. (*Canzonetta / Barzelletta*)	"Po' ch'i t'ebbi nel core" (Francesco d'Albizo), *cantasi come* "Fortuna disperata" (GallettiL, p. 56, no. 117; I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 108, see CattinR; musical setting in sources Cape and FN Panciatichi 27)
35	Gentil madonna (Fortuna las)	(Italian text: Giustinian?)	(Bedingham)	*Ballata* (poetic) / French *ballade* (musical)	Two laude based on this song: "Umil madonna non mi abandonare" (Francesco d'Albizo), *cantasi come* "Gentil madonna non mi abbandonare" (GallettiL, p. 65, no. 145); and "Vergine bella non mi abbandonare" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "Gentil madonna non mi abbandonare" (GallettiL, p. 34, no. 64)

Table B.5. *Lauda* concordances in the Neapolitan song repertory.

C. no.	Incipit	Author	Composer	Genre	*Lauda* concordance
46	La morte che spavento de felice	none	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	"L'amor ch'i' porto a te Imperatrice" (anon.), *cantasi come* "La morte che è spavento de' felici" (GallettiL, p. 86; no. 193).
54	Lisa dea damisella	Giustinian (?)	none	*Ballata* (?)	Possibly the text is actually the *Giustiniana* "Lizadra damisella o segnor mio" (but there are both poetic and textual elements that point away from that possibility); if it is indeed that text, it would have the following *cantasi come* indications: 1. Assunta in Madre di Dio (Filippo di Lorenzo Bencivieni), *in su:* O vaga damigella o signior mio (I-Rvat Chigi L.VII.266, fol. 255v); 2. Chi del pechato vole remanere netto (anon.), *Nel tuono de:* Ligiadria dongella (I-Mt 535, fols. 122v–123r); see VaraniniM, p. 16; 3. Dolze Maria ascolta el mio lamento (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* Leggiadra damigella o signior mio (I-Rvat Chigi L.VII.266, fol. 100v); 4. Gesù sommo diletto e vero lumi (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* Leggiadra damigella, e *come* Molto m'annoia dello mio massere, ed. GallettiL, p. 4 (no. 8); also in I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 62 (see CattinR); I-Ra 2274, fols. 55–56; I-Rvat Ross. 424, fol. 131v; I-Rvat Chigi L.VII.266, fol. 48v; US-Cn 75-1, fol. 4 (no. 4); 5. In nulla si vuol por la sua speranza (anon.), *come* Lazadra damigella o signor mio (I-Fn Magl. VII.30, fols. 64v–65r (op. 64) and I-Rvat Ross. 424, fols. 178v–179r); 6. O creatore etterno o Jhesù pio (anon.), *come* Lezadra damizella o signor mio (I-Fn Magl. VII.30, fols. 67–68); 7. O glorioso Bar-tolomeo beato (anon.), *Nel tuono de:* Ligiadra (I-Mt 535, fol. 123); see VaraniniM, p. 17; 8. O glorioso Dio alto benignio (anon.), *Nel suono de:* Ligiadra damigella (I-Mt 535, fols. 123–24); see VaraniniM, p. 17

Table B.5 (*continued*).

C. no.	Incipit	Author	Composer	Genre	Lauda concordance
61	Morte merce gentile aquila altera	none	Joan Cornago	*Ballata / Canzone?*	Two *laude* based on this song: "Anima mia contempla el mio patire" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "Morte o merzé gentil aquila altera" (ed. GallettiL, p. 27, no. 45; and in I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 96); and "Maria merzé umile aquila altera" (anon.), *cantasi come* "Morte merzé" (ed. GallettiL, p. 91, no. 205)
66	O partita crudele	none	none	*Strambotto* (?)	*Lauda* texts seem to match, but are in a form incompatible with the music as it survives: 1. "O dolce padre santo" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "O partita crudele ed ohimè" (GallettiL, p. 70, no. 154; and I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 122; see CattinR); 2. "O Gesù sommo bene ed ohimè ne" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "O partita crudele ed ohimè" (GallettiL, p. 68, no. 150; and I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 117; see CattinR)
67	O pellegrina o luce o clara stella	[Giustinian?]	none	*Strambotto* (poetic); French *ballade* (musical)	"O mia regina o dolce madre bella" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "O peregrina luce o chiara stella" (see GallettiL, p. 43, no. 89)
68	O rosa bella	[Giustinian]	[Dunstable] / anon.	*Ballata*	Two *laude*: "O diva stella o vergine Maria" (anon.), *cantasi come* "O rosa bella o dolce anima mia" (GallettiL, p. 75, no. 166); and "O sacra stella vergine humile e pia" (anon.), *in su*: "O rosa bella o dolce anima mia" (I-Rvat Chigi L.VII.266, fol. 115v)
82	Quanto piu li occhi mei	none	none	*Strambotto*	"Quanto più gli occhi mia versono in pianto" (Feo Belcari; two stanzas, each in *Strambotto* form), *cantasi come* "Quanto più gli occhi mia, e come gli strambotti" (GallettiL, p. 100, no. 227)

Table B.5 (*continued*).

C. no.	Incipit	Author	Composer	Genre	*Lauda* concordance
88	Sento li spiriti mei	none	none	*Strambotto / Lauda* (?)	This piece itself might be a *lauda*, copied in Perugia 431 below another *lauda*, "O lux immensa."
91	So stato nel inferno tanto tanto	none	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	"Sono stato in peccato tanto tanto" (Feo Belcari), *cantasi come* "Son stato nell'inferno tanto tanto" (I-Fr ed. r. 196, no. 90); and "Sono stato in paradiso tanto tanto" (I-Fr ed. r. 196, fol. 11v; and I-Fn Conv. Sopp. G.8.1545, fol. 71)—see also GallettiL, p. 50 (no. 101)
93	Sufferir so disposto omne tormento	Serafino Aquilano (?)	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	Sacred setting in FN Panciatichi 27: "Ave Regina, Virgo gloriosa"—*Lauda / capitolo ternario* that is a contrafact of the music of the *Strambotto* setting; has the words "Soffrire son disposto" above the musical copy in the manuscript; Sacred poem attributed to Enselmino da Montebelluna (composed between 1322 and 1362)
99	Vedera locchi mei la sepultura	none	none	*Strambotto (siciliano)*	"Parmi sempre veder la sepoltura" (from editions of *Laude spirituali* published in Florence in 1510 and 1512), *cantasi come* "Vedera locchi mei la sepultura" (see D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana*, p. 494)
106	Zappay lo campo	none	none	*Strambotto*	Possible connection to "I' seminai lo campo et altro mete"—listed as a *cantasi come* indication for at least two *laude* by Francesco d'Albizo: 1. "Perche l'amor di Dio tanto mi tira"—"cantasi come: I' seminai lo campo"; and 15. "Pel di d'Ognissanti—O gloriosi in cielo"—"Cantasi come—Noi siam tre pellegrini—e come I seminai lo campo, e come gli strambotti."

Table B.5 (*continued*).

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Appendix C: Figures

Province napoletane (1454)
1)Terra di Lavoro
2)Abruzzo Ultra
3)Abruzzo Citra
4)Contado di Molise
5)Principato Citra
6)Capitanata
7)Terra di Bari
8)Terra d'Otranto
9)Basilicata
10)Principato Ultra
11)Calabria Citra
12)Calabria Ultra
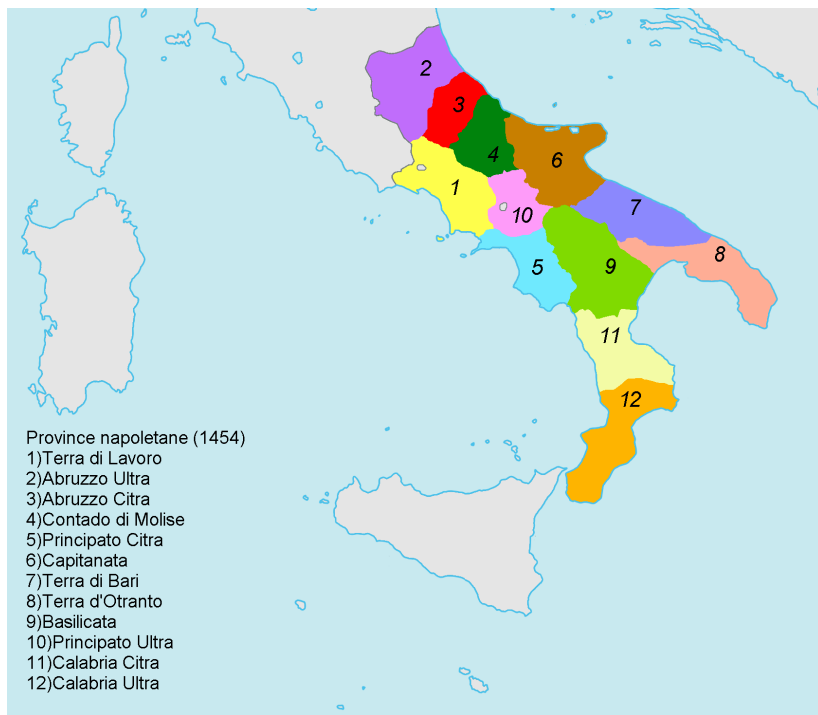
Figure C.1. Map of the Kingdom of Naples with provinces delineated. Image created by Wento, modified by The White Lion, *Wikimedia Commons: The Free Media Repository*, November 6, 2010, accessed April 12, 2021, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/ File:Province_napoletane_(1454).PNG.

Figure C.2. Decorative initials in Perugia 431, type 1 (fols. 3v and 8r).

Figure C.3. Decorative initials in Perugia 431, type 2 (fols. 10v–11r).

Figure C.4. Decorative initials in Perugia 431, type 3 (fols. 12v and 13v).

Figure C.5. Decorative initials in Perugia 431, type 4 (fols. 58v and 59v).

Figure C.6. Decorative initials in Perugia 431, type 5 (fols. 60v and 65r).
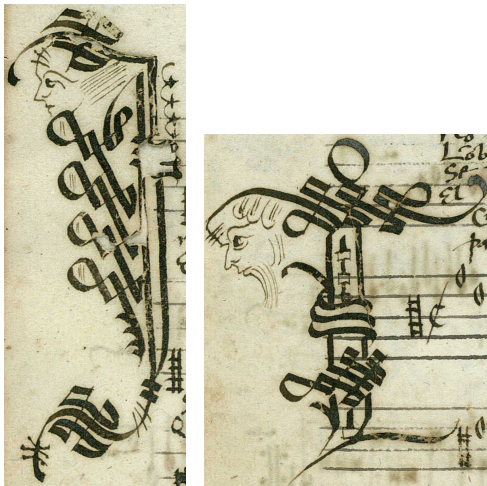
Figure C.7. Decorative initials in Perugia 431, type 6 (fols. 99v and 100v).

Sancto Lonardo fo dela matina
Che fece sto miracolo per mia
Roppe li ferri et roppe la catina
Roppe le porte dela pregonia
Roppe lo lazo et la corda piu fina
Quella che piu restricto me tenia
Sancto leonardo fo la medeana
Che posse in liberta la vita mia
Che tanto tempo se uecte meschina
In le toy mano heretica Judia
O va che posso dmentar regnia
Et fo non habia bisogno de tia

Finis
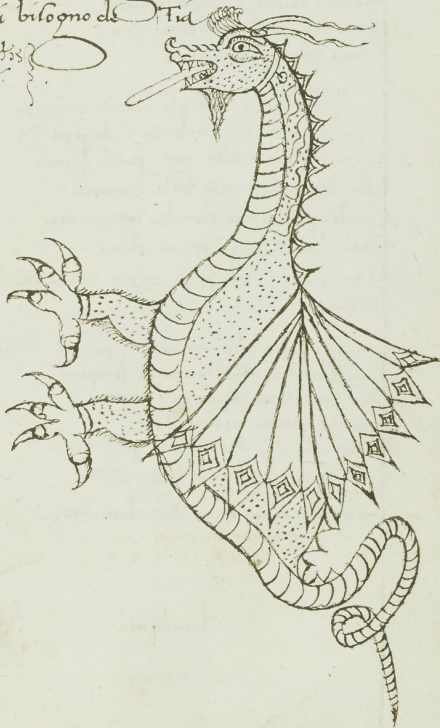
Figure C.8. Dragon illustration accompanying "Sancto Lonardo fo de la matina," Paris 1035, fol. 39r.
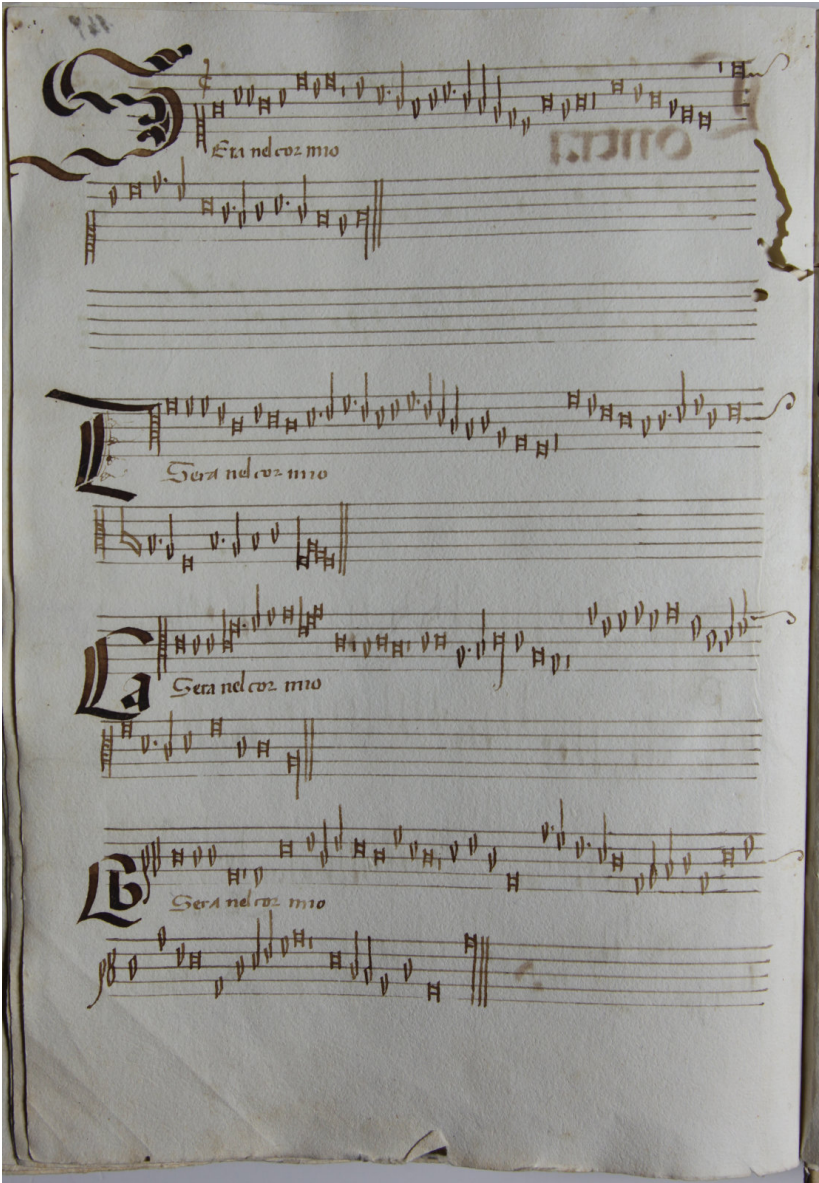
Figure C.9. Original manuscript images of "Serà nel cor mio doglia et tormento"
(C.9a) Montecassino 871, p. 430.

Figure C.9 (*continued*).
(C.9b) Perugia 431, fol. 107v.

Figure C.9 (*continued*).
(C.9c) Seville-Paris, fol. *Sev* 118r (p8r).

Figure C.9 (*continued*).
(C.9d) Bologna Q 16, fol. 127r.

Appendix D: Musical Transcriptions

Example D.1. "Villana che sa tu far," Seville-Paris, fols. *Sev*34v–35r (d10v–e1r).

Example D.1 (*continued*).

Example D.1 (*continued*).

**Example D.2.** "I siderj vostri," Bologna Q 16, fols. 88v–89r.

Example D.2 (*continued*).

**Example D.3.** "A la chaza, a la chaza," Seville-Paris, fols. *Sev*32v–34r (d8v–d10r).

Example D.3 (*continued*).

Example D.3 (*continued*).

Example D.3 (*continued*).

Example D.4. "Alla cacza alla cacza," Bologna Q 16, fols. 144v–145r.

Example D.4 (*continued*).

Example D.5. "O rosa bella," Seville-Paris, fols. *Par*30v–*Sev*50r (h11v–h12r).

Example D.5 (*continued*).

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